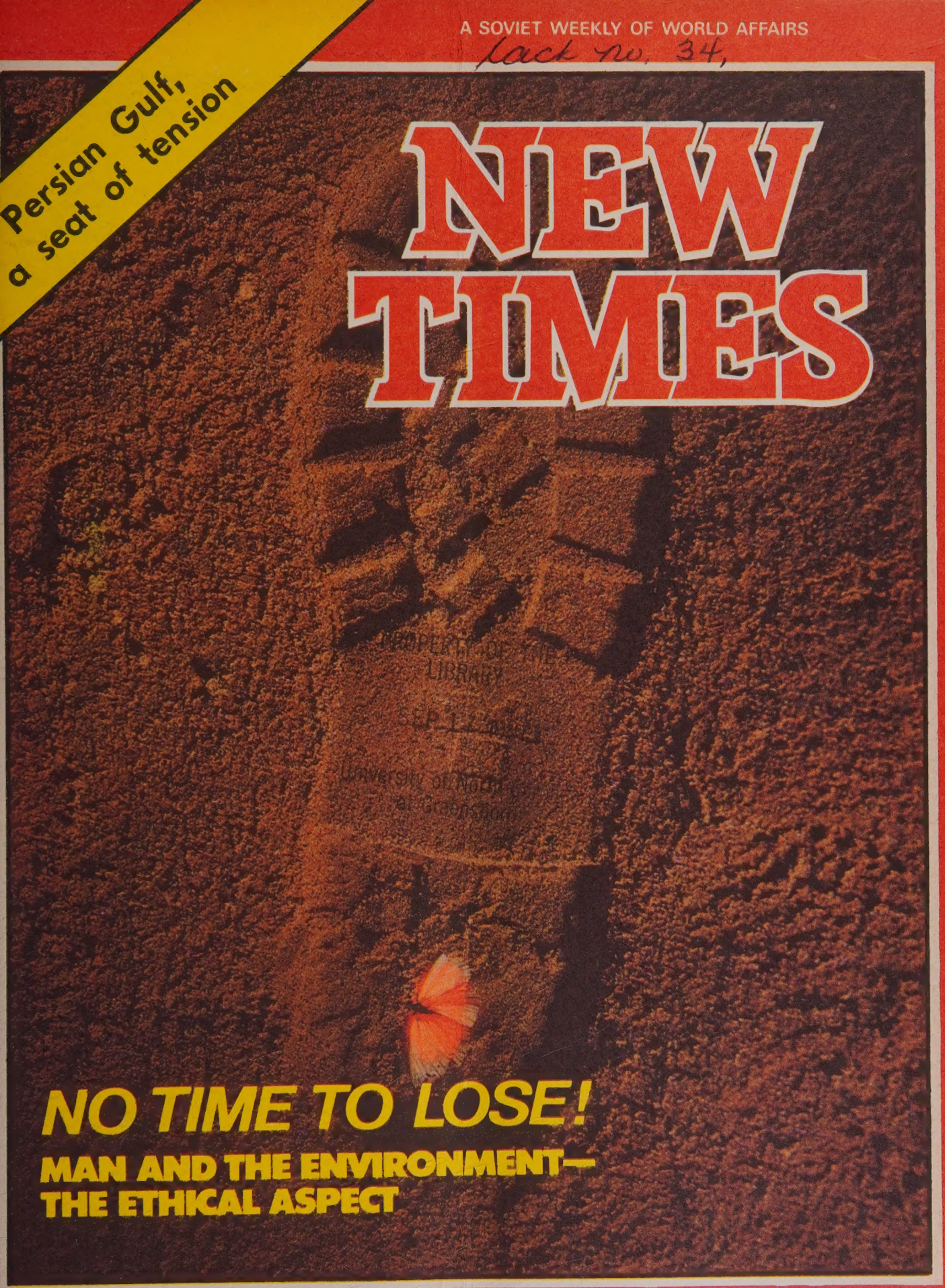
A SOVIET WEEKLY OF WORLD AFFAIRS

lack no. 34,

Persian Gulf, a seat of tension

NEW TIMES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NO TIME TO LOSE!

MAN AND THE ENVIRONMENT— THE ETHICAL ASPECT

DISARMAMENT FOR DEVELOPMENT

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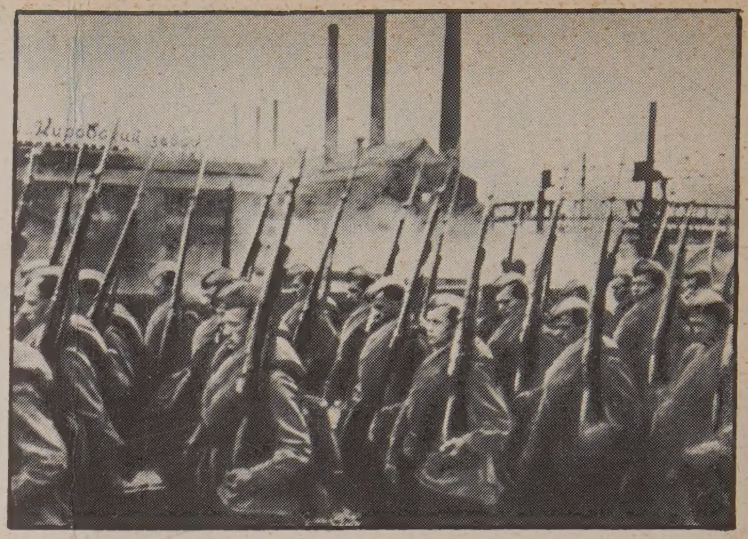
THE SCHOOL OF TOMORROW

1917–1987

TIME AND PEOPLE



Long after the war, a note was found in a time-blackened rifle cartridge near the Minskoye Highway, 152 km from Moscow. Uneven letters scratched on a scrap of paper read: "There were 12 of us, we've been sent here to Minskoye Highway to stop the enemy, especially the tanks. We stood firm, and now there are only three of us left—Kolya, Volodya and myself, Alexander. The enemy is pressing. Just now one more of us, Volodya from Moscow, has fallen. The tanks are pressing hard. Nineteen of them are already on fire on the road. There are two of us. We shall fight as long as we can to keep them back until our troops come. And now I am left alone, wounded in the head and in an arm. Now there are 23 tanks ablaze. I shall probably die. But somebody may find the note sometime and remember the heroes. I am from Frunze, a Russian. No parents. Farewell, dear friends. Yours Alexander Vinogradov, Feb. 22, 1942."

Just a short message to us from the generation of those who had heard stories about the revolution and the civil war from their fathers. That generation grew up and matured together with the country. Alexander and his coevals had played at being Papanin-led Polar explorers and the heroes of the Chelyuskin icebreaker rescue epic. They envied those who were building the Magnitogorsk iron and steel works, the new city of Komsomolsk on the Amur and the Dnieper power station. They dreamt of fighting alongside Spanish anti-fascists.

Life is extremely varied. In the autumn of 1941, violins were singing, couples waltzing, and women laughing somewhere in the world. And near Moscow, hundreds of thousands of soldiers, haggard from fatigue, rose from the snow and mud to stop the enemy at the walls of the capital at the cost of their lives, and to strike the first crushing blow on the nazi troops.

A SOVIET WEEKLY
OF WORLD AFFAIRS

NEW TIMES

35

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RETURNING TO THE LESSONS OF THE PAST

IT IS A REGRETTABLE FACT THAT PEOPLE ARE FAR MORE INCLINED TO DISCOURSE ON THE LESSONS OF HISTORY THAN TO DRAW PRACTICAL CONCLUSIONS FROM THEM. WELL-KNOWN SOVIET SCHOLAR GEORGI SMIRNOV REFLECTS ON THE RELEVANCE FOR THE PRESENT OF THE EVENTS THAT PRECEDED WORLD WAR TWO.

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NEW TIMES

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FROM OUR MAILBAG

A new model for economic relations is now being shaped between the socialist countries. Contacts in this field have become wider and more varied. The Soviet press is now writing a great deal about this. Personally I'm interested in one question: in what industries will new joint Polish-Soviet ventures be organized!

V.DENDA
Odessa, U.S.S.R.

NATO leaders and their backers should heed the voices of their people, and sign agreements on the reduction of all types of weapon. And if they are worried about how best to spend the money saved from arms production, I can tell them what to do with it - give it to children who have no bread, to children's homes and hospitals. That is why I heartily support the Warsaw Treaty proposals.

RALF WEICHOLD
Hermsdorf, G.D.R.

From 1947 to this day, the Italian Communist Party - the biggest political party, which represents a third of the country's electorate - has been in opposition. All the ruling parties fear the prospect of cooperating with the communists. I believe it is this fear that is the cause of the long years of crisis that have plagued our pluralist democracy. The truly healthy forces are deprived of the right to govern society, compelled to remain forever in opposition. Will there ever be an end to this state of affairs!

SILVIO SARZI-SARTORI
San Remo, Italy

EDITORIAL

LEARNING THE LESSONS OF HISTORY

We are learning. In effect, the entire history of mankind is one long day at school. It will continue, for as long as one generation succeeds another.

We are all different. In the giant world school, those who want to learn and those who do not share the same desk. Some learn their lessons. Others suffer from lapses of memory.

We make mistakes. And we learn the difficult lesson of admitting to our mistakes.

Lesson follows lesson. Some are repeated. Every September 1 is a lesson in war. The lesson began on that date 48 years ago, with the start of the second world war, the most destructive war mankind has ever known. It killed tens of millions of people, with all their dreams and talents. It destroyed the happiness of many of those who survived it.

Those who raised the sword against Europe and threatened the rest of the world brought suffering to their own people as well. That is the lesson taught by fascism and aggression. From it a trail runs to the present day: he who threatens the security of others places his own security in jeopardy.

Have we learned to safeguard peace?

Yes and no. Yes, because for more than 40 years we have not had a major war. No, because war - nuclear war - lurks on our threshold. And it threatens to destroy us once and for all.

We fear it. But for decades we have strengthened our military muscle to deter each other, and thus made war more probable. This is one more lesson that has caused politicians in the socialist part of the world radically to change their thinking, and one that is gradually being learned in the West. For the first time we have started to think seriously about a nuclear weapon-free future for mankind, and the common responsibility of all peoples for the destiny of the Earth.

The Soviet-American talks in Geneva, all the agreements, both concluded and as yet unconcluded, the groping for new fields of cooperation are also a lesson. The United States' current violation of its agreement with the U.S.S.R. to limit underground nuclear tests to 150 kilotons, and the obstacles erected to an agreement on eliminating medium- and shorter-range missiles in Europe, are examples of a careless attitude to lessons.

We are studying, but by no means all are learning. Unfortunately, there are more than enough of those who are not.

Working on the feelings of the people of a multinational country - that is the "game" now being played by "Western friends" of the peoples of the Soviet Baltic republics, a game that is creating new difficulties in solving our problems, and hindering those normal relations between nations.

Foreign armed intervention in any conflict, even under the apparently noble pretext of helping to resolve it, only adds fuel to the flames.

20,000 dollars are spent by humanity on each soldier and only 380 on teaching one child...

September 1. In Soviet schools the new academic year has for several years begun with a Peace lesson. The children learn not only about the horrors of war. They learn friendliness for their counterparts in other countries, and how to accept those who differ from them as they are.

For the adults of the world, September 1 has become World Peace Day, and a Day of Trade Union Action for Peace. We still have a lot to do to master the art of coexistence and creative cooperation. The lesson continues.

WHEN NO BORDERS CAN SAVE NATIONS

"We must learn to make rational use of nature," says the UNESCO Director-General

Above the entrance of the building is a blue poster showing a man embracing the world. In the halls voices can be heard arguing in different languages. And in one room people are bent over computer displays in silence as they try to resolve a problem: "Forestry manager needs best economic effect from timber felling and meat production." A button is pressed and all rapacious animals are destroyed. The lamps flicker, showing the passage of years. Herds of elks increase rapidly. Another year passes, then another. The herds have increased, but there is not enough feed for them, as the forests are not being restored. An ecological catastrophe threatens....

The population of the world is increasing at a rate of about 70 million each year. What will happen when the total reaches 10, 15, 20 thousand million? Will computers be able to predict the results of man's activities?

The Director-General of UNESCO, Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow, who came to Moscow for the Congress on Ecological Education and Training, answered some questions for New Times.

"Today it is hard to foresee everything. Yet we hope that mankind will in the final count learn to make rational use of the immense possibilities offered by modern technology. It is to this end that we are promoting ecological education.

"A forum like the present one was held in 1977, the intergovernment conference in Tbilisi. Its recommendations determined the aims and principles of the work being done by UNESCO together with UNEP - the United Nations Environment Programme.

"We have drawn the attention of the international community to ecological problems. We have implemented dozens of scientific projects designed to spread information about the environment in different countries. 37 national and 13 regional seminars have been held. Curricula have been drafted and teaching aids prepared. A total of 260,000 schoolchildren and 10,000 teachers and administrative workers have already been trained. Now the time has

come for a broad exchange of experience, the like of which would have been simply impossible, say, 20 years ago.

"The Moscow congress was called upon to consolidate and expand international cooperation in ecology. We attach great hopes to the mass media and to improvements in environmental legislation. Nevertheless, the most important thing is to change the public's attitude and establish new patterns of thinking.

"At the meeting in Moscow we realized that the issues raised ten years ago are far from having been resolved. And new problems have cropped up. On a world scale these include the rapid growth of the population which scientists believe will have stabilized only by the year 2100, when it reaches the figure of 25 thousand million. The process of urbanization continues, and as a result we have atmospheric pollution, destruction of the ozone layer, the hot-house effect, acid rains. The seas and oceans are constantly being polluted. For instance, of every 10 million tons of oil transported across the Baltic Sea 50,000 tons remains in its waters. To this one should add the 70,000 tons of phosphorus and about a million tons of nitrogen compounds that are dumped in the Baltic every year, as well as almost two million tons of sewage.

"Or take the extermination of forests. The tropical forests are being destroyed at a rate of 20 hectares a minute! A third of the world's land mass is threatened with desertification. And the sands of the Sahara, for instance, are advancing on the Mauritanian capital at a rate of 20 metres a year.

"No one can foresee the results of certain human activities, such as genetic engineering or the splitting of the atom. That is why the problems of ecological education were brought up at our congress. The main thing was to substantiate the need for a special course on environmental protection, work out the methodology in detail, and help individual countries that are planning to include ecological studies in their programmes. This education should involve the broadest sections of the public, specialists on whose activities the state of the environment depends.

"The congress was held in Moscow at the invitation of the Soviet Union. We know how attentive your country is to UNESCO activities. It is participating in a number of joint programmes, in particular, in the intergovernment programme, Man and the Biosphere. Its aim is to draw up recommendations for the rational use of natural resources and control of processes taking place in the biosphere. We were told that over 500 Soviet science centres are working on this programme.

"I would like particularly to note your work on setting up Biosphere Reserves. I would describe them as live classes for teaching the right attitude to Nature. UNESCO has included your Caucasian, Central Black Earth, Sikhota-Alin and other zones in its world network.

"The environment is an area of human activity where borders are meaningless, where people have common interests and common dangers threaten them. Sooner or later ecological problems spread all over the world, and neither borders nor cordons sanitaires can save us. Moreover, protection of the biosphere could be a factor in uniting states. Ecological problems are bred by such things as inequality of economic development, illiteracy, disease, hunger, poverty. They are part of our struggle for peace, because the arms race not only swallows natural resources, but distracts the finest minds from getting down to trying to solve the most urgent problems".

Interviewer: **ALEXANDER GURNOV**

See p. 28 for an article on ethical aspects of the man-nature relationship.

ITALY

A call from Erice

●CLOSE COOPERATION BETWEEN SCIENTISTS THE WORLD OVER OFFERS A GUARANTEE FOR THE FRUITFUL ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WHOLE OF MANKIND, AND IS AN IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION TO THE CONSOLIDATION OF WORLD PEACE.

That idea ran like a red thread through the deliberations of the seventh international symposium of scientists in the Italian town of Erice, attended by more than 80 prominent scientists from Italy, the U.S.S.R., the U.S., China and other countries.

The message from Mikhail Gorbachev to the international scientific organization, Laboratorio Universale, which is sponsoring the symposium, was received with enthusiasm.

The symposium approved the main directions along which the organization would work to advance basic research in the fields of high-energy physics, high-temperature superconductivity, and biotechnology, as well as practical research which could lead, among other things, to the development of thermonuclear synthesis technology.

Wide support was given in Erice to the idea of the joint construction of a thermonuclear reactor, as well as to cooperation on programmes for studies of the earth. These include seismological and electromagnetic sounding, studies of the atmsophere and ocean, and the forecasting of earthquakes and tsunami. A Soviet plan for using modern technology in the fields of education, environment protection, and the restoration of monuments was widely discussed. American scientists proposed a number of long-term projects for producing a new generation of supercomputers, and noted the need for cooperation in this field.

Speaking to newsmen in Erice, the Vice-President of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences and head of the Soviet branch of Laboratorio Universale, Evgeny Velikhov, drew attention to the importance of the fact that the idea of a World Laboratory had met with understanding from the leaders of the Soviet Union, the United States, China, Italy and a number of other countries. It was thanks to their all-round support, he noted, that it was proving possible to work jointly on a number of major scientific programmes. Moscow got down at once to work on a number of projects. Within their framework, Soviet scientists are conducting research jointly with colleagues from many other countries, specifically, Italy, India, Switzerland, and Czechoslovakia. The Soviet Union would continue to maintain, widen and develop such ties.

At the final meeting of the symposium one of its organizers, well-known Italian physicist Antonio Zichichi, called on scientists in all countries to join in fruitful cooperation for the benefit of mankind.

VLADIMIR MALYSHEV

CENTRAL AMERICA

Different stands

●IN AUGUST A DELEGATION OF UNITED STATES SENATORS VISITED THE SOVIET UNION.

After a tour of the country, the Senators met journalists at the press centre of the Soviet Foreign Ministry. They expressed their satisfaction with the visit. Daniel Moynihan, leader of the delegation, noted the frankness of their conversations with Soviet leaders and specialists. There were no forbidden topics, Senator Paul Sarbanes stressed, our hosts willingly answered all our questions, while Senator Terry Sanford said that the Soviet perestroika is viewed positively in the U.S. and Americans welcome Mikhail Gorbachev's efforts to increase the efficiency of the economy and encourage glasnost.

The Senators also replied to questions from the mass media on international affairs and regional conflicts, specifically, in Central America.

The Soviet stand on the document signed in Guatemala on August 7 by the leaders of five Central American countries on ways of settling the conflict in the region and establishing a stable peace was formulated in a recent Soviet government statement. It underlined that the document makes it possible to get down in practice to unblocking the conflict situation and creating stable peaceful conditions for resolving the acute social and economic problems of each country individually and the region as a whole. "Much," the statement noted, "will undoubtedly depend on the stand taken by the U.S."

When I asked what changes could be expected in the U.S. administration's policy in connection with the adoption of the plan of Costa Rican President Arias, Senator Moynihan replied that the United States

"They are the only prop of our alliance." Drawing by V.Arsenyev

had encouraged the process from the outset and hoped it would develop. However, the Senator believed that the difficulties in the way of implementing the agreement stem from the fact that the people of Costa Rica, El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala have freely elected democratic governments, while Nicaragua has no such government....

The question arises who had annulled the elections in Nicaragua in which the population had been actively involved?!

I noted that members of the Republican right wing in Congress, Jack Kemp and Jesse Helms, intended to put forward a bill allocating 310 million dollars in aid to the Nicaraguan contras, without waiting for results from the efforts of the Latin American countries to settle the situation by peaceful means. Did this not show an intent to foil the implementation of the Guatemalan agreement and increase tension in the region? Senator Terry Sanford replied that in the U.S. Senate almost everyone was satisfied with the progress achieved in the Central American situation. It is their region, he added, referring to the Central American republics, their concern, their conflicts. A peaceful solution would be the best solution. It would be followed by steps to promote the economic development of the countries in the region, and then there would be no need to give aid to the contras.

A promising stand? Yes, if that was how things really were. From the comments in the American press, we know that in the higher corridors of power there is no single view on how to react to the Guatemalan agreement. The magazine Newsweek, for instance, reported that the conservatives have condemned the peace talks as a betrayal of the contras, and President Reagan is trying to allay their fears with assurances that the contras will not be left in the lurch. On September 30 (when the term of the present aid to the Somoza units ends), he will insist on the allocation of additional funds if the Sandinistas do not change their policy....

Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger has his own worries. He fears that the implementation of the plans of the five countries could result in the contras being compromised completely and the United States being deprived of the means of putting military pressure on the Nicaraguan government. What former CIA Director William Colby fears is that it could lead to anarchist armed units - 15,000 men - moving into neighbouring Honduras, El Salvador, Guatemala and Costa Rica to earn their livings by banditism, drug-trafficking and service in various private armies. According to the paper Newsday, the Centre for Defence Information - an organization headed by retired officers - has concluded that sooner or later Reagan will probably have to decide to invade Nicaragua. At any rate, the New York Times has quoted administration officials as saying that American diplomats in the five Central American countries have been instructed to express Washington's profound anxiety over the plan for a peaceful settlement.

VADIM NIZSKY

SPAIN

-NATO

Hunting whom?

SPAIN TO TAKE PART IN NATO EXERCISES FOR THE FIRST TIME.

"Ocean Safari-87" is the code name chosen for the latest NATO naval exercises. They are to take place in the North Atlantic - from the American and Canadian coasts right up to the North Sea and the fjords of Norway - from August 31 to September 18. The exercises have been planned on a lavish scale. In addition to big naval units, more than 150 ships will be involved, 250 aircraft and helicopters, and considerable additional military hardware. The main task is to polish up joint action against enemy submarines and aircraft.

Spain, which has since 1982 been the 16th member of NATO, does not belong to the organization's military structure. Its nonparticipation in the bloc's military organization reflects the wishes of the Spanish people, which were clearly confirmed in the national referendum on membership of the North Atlantic Alliance held in March of last year. The Spanish people also made it absolutely clear that they favour a non-nuclear policy and a substantial reduction of the American military presence in the country. In view of these sentiments, the Felipe Gonzalez government pledged three things: to remain outside NATO's military organization, to ban the introduction of nuclear weapons in Spain, and seek a reduction in the American military presence, which goes back to 1953 when Franco was still in power.

Spanish-American talks on the future of the Pentagon's bases have been in progress for almost a year. The Spaniards are insisting, for one thing, on the withdrawal of the 72 F-16 fighter-bombers from the country. So far there have been no concrete results.

The United States and NATO have not given up their efforts to bind Madrid more closely to the bloc's military chariot. Visits from senior Pentagon and NATO officials have become more frequent. In July the Secretary-General of NATO, Lord Carrington, visited Madrid. High on the list of the principal topics he discussed with Felipe Gonzalez was the question of increasing Spain's contribution to the North Atlantic pact's military activities. He also expressed concern about isolationist sentiments and, in an interview for the Madrid paper El Pais, insisted that it was necessary to devise closer forms of cooperation between the united NATO command and that of Spain.

Representatives of Spain's opposition parties have repeatedly pointed to the inconsistency of the ruling Socialist Workers Party's policy. They note that Spanish representatives participate in the work of many of NATO's military bodies. According to El Pais, the obligations of Spanish troops in the various plans of the bloc have even been drawn up in Brussels. In a number of cases, Spanish troops would have to carry out operations outside the country's national territory and air space.

The latest NATO "safari" will take place thousands of kilometres from Spanish shores. What have they to do with ensuring Spain's security?

ALEXEI IVANOV

U.S.A.

The ball is in Hart's court

HOT NEWS IN WASHINGTON: GARY HART COULD AGAIN JOIN THE PRESIDENTIAL RACE.

The announcement by Bill Dixon, former manager of Hart's presidential campaign, caused a considerable stir in Washington now languishing in the heat. Rumours and stories spilled out, one surpassing the other. As for the hero of the hour, on holiday with his son in Ireland, he refused to confirm or deny Dixon's statement.

And so, once again Gary Hart, graduate of Yale University, lawyer, former Senator from Colorado, member of the

Senate Armed Services Committee, the Environment and Public Works Committee and the Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations in Intelligence Activities, Democratic presidential candidate in 1984 and candidate for presidential nomination in 1988. Also, so far, former.

What happened was that barely had Hart launched a new campaign in the spring when he was caught in the trap that potentially awaits every politician. His private life tripped him up. Several reporters from the Miami Herald had spent five days and nights watching Hart's home from the cover of bushes. Finally they managed to photograph him leaving the house in the company of model and actress Donna Rice. Sensation: infidelity of presidential candidate! Hart at first denied everything. Then a couple of days later he announced that he was standing down as he did not want his family, his friends and himself to become targets for gossip and rumours.

Was it pure chance that the reporters had been watching his home?

In my opinion, too many chance events in America prove to have been well planned. This one was no exception.

It could well be that some people are worried about Hart's morals. But it is equally certain that others were worried by his political views. When in the spring Hart announced his intention to run for the White House, he said that in the 1988 elections Americans must choose a president who was fully aware of the nuclear threat looming over mankind, who was not only dedicated to arms control, but had an effective plan of action in this field.

The public's reaction to the Hart incident was assessed. Opinion polls at the time showed that it was not so much his infidelity that dismayed Americans, but the fact that he had not publicly revealed the whole truth. Watergate and Irangate were fresh in people's minds.

Be that as it may, the principal Democratic contender was out of the running. Remaining in the team are Senator Paul Simon of Illinois, Albert Gore of Tennessee, Joseph Biden of Delaware, Missouri representative Dick Gephardt, Bruce Babbitt of Arizona, Governor Michael Dukakis of Massachusetts, and others. There is no clear leader. All the Democratic candidates are worried by the party's standing in opinion polls. Unlike the Republicans, the "masculine" party, the Democrats are described as "feminine" party for their softness with the United States' opponents in the international arena and their addiction to social programmes in domestic policy. Personally, I regard that as an oversimplification. One has only to recall Democrat Jimmy Carter. It was during his presidency that the foundation was laid for Reagan's superarmament of the U.S., and a new period of tension in Soviet-American relations began.

Of course, Americans have their own views. And as the electorate prefers strong, self-confident men (or at least those producing an impression of confident leaders), all the Democratic candidates are trying to demonstrate readiness to stand up for their views. But the trouble is that so far there is no clear-cut programme for the 1988 elections. And it is probably Gary Hart who has spelled out foreign and domestic policy aims most clearly.

According to a recent opinion poll, Hart still enjoys twice as much support in the party as any other candidate. That is why Dixon's interview caused such a stir in Washington. Experienced politicians immediately said that Hart's return to the presidential race after the blow to his reputation does not promise success. Others insisted that with almost no chance of victory, Hart's participation in the campaign could strengthen the Democrats' team, focus their programme on questions of defence, U.S.-Soviet relations, and the economy. The ball is now in Hart's court.

GALINA SIDOROVA

SOUTH KOREA

The situation remains tense

MASS STRIKES CONTINUE IN THE SOUTH OF THE PENINSULA.

Workers are demanding not just higher wages and new independent trade unions, but also democratic elections and the release of political prisoners.

After July, when the bitter struggle of the people resulted in hopes that a democratic process would begin in South Korea, both Washington and Seoul heaved a sigh of relief. They decided that the peak of the anti-government demonstrations had passed. The departure of Chun Doo Hwan, the promises to hold direct parliamentary elections and the release of a number of opposition figures was regarded as sufficient to restore "stability." Ro Tae Woo, the new tenant of Seoul's Blue House and a former colleague of the previous incumbent, hoped to use the breathing space to regroup.

"There's a feeling among some people in government," the New York Times wrote, quoting an unnamed Western diplomat, "that they've gone too far, that they've let dangerous radicals out. I'm not sure there's a lot of give left in the government."

A foreign businessman working in Seoul remarked that what was confounding the process was "South Korea's go-for-broke bargaining style, in which compromise is often scorned as a sign of weakness." "Koreans," he added, "can be bloody hard-nosed. Just look at the way they drive. They never let anyone go in front of them. That's a bad sign for the summer's political bargaining."

The people received the Seoul leaders' promises with scepticism, and when several weeks passed without anything being done, unrest again flared up in the South. At the forefront of the anti-government movement this time were the workers who are responsible for the country's mighty export potential. American economists believe that South Korea owes the competitiveness of its goods to low wages and the helplessness of the trade unions. The labour laws ban strikes, allow the authorities to disband trade unions, and strip trade unionists of political rights.

The workers' strikes hit Seoul and towns in the mining area. The miners' industrial action was followed by strikes in the shipyards, and the automobile and transport industries. Work was stopped at 1,300 companies, including such major firms as Hyundai, Daewoo, Samsung, and Lucky Goldstar. Coal output fell by half, and in just 15 days the economic losses amounted to 800 million dollars.

Police are again using tear gas and truncheons to break up demonstrations. According to the authorities, the workers' actions in Seoul are particularly dangerous, not just because of the economic losses, but because of the joining of forces of the workers and the student movement.

Ro Tae Woo believes that the events are being manipulated by sinister forces that hope to derive an advantage from the workers' strike. Minister of Labour Lee Heun Ki has promised to take stern measures, nor is his promise an empty one. The opposition believes that the possibility of the armed forces making another attempt to take over power cannot be ruled out. If both the Blue House and the White House have been somewhat premature in rejoicing over the preservation of stability and order in South Korea, it is also too early for the opposition to feel triumphant.

LEONID MIKHAILOV

The strategy of change

SYLVESTER MILCHEV,

Bulgarian journalist

The recent decision of the Political Bureau of the Bulgarian Communist Party on the need for profound changes in the attributes of government was received by our people with interest and approval. Concrete and clear-cut, it provided the answers to burning issues that had long troubled all of us. The decision has opened the way for changes in keeping with present circumstances which will stimulate our country's further advancement on its socialist course. It will enable us to make even broader use of the creative forces of the people and to continue the democratic traditions of the party and the nation.

The new document derives from the innovative ideas of the July (1987) plenum of the CC BCP, which spelled out the way in which the decisions of the 13th Party Congress were to be implemented. It elevates the Leninist general line of the party to a new and higher level, and directs all our efforts to the principal goal - qualitatively new growth in all fields, and a profound restructuring of our society. Self-government will be established increasingly as the decisive factor in the democratization of power, encouraging the creative initiative and energy of millions, and converting power on behalf of the people into the power of the people.

Party, state and public bodies and organizations will function in an entirely new way. The Political Bureau of the BCP has called for the drafting of a code of rules and norms determining how power will be used. The idea behind this is to foster the patriotic education of Bulgarian citizens. For instance, it is proposed that on official holidays the Bulgarian flag be raised at special ceremonies in the main squares of towns and villages. New regulations governing the use of the state emblem and the national anthem are also envisaged. A new musical arrangement of the anthem is to be composed so that it can be sung at meetings.

Our patriotism has nothing to do with nationalism but is, rather, closely linked with the ideas of internationalism. This is borne out in many ways. The Bulgarian people are building their future in cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Together we are working for world peace and mutual understanding between nations. Bulgaria is contributing actively to the efforts to turn the Balkans into a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons.

March 3 - the day of Bulgaria's liberation from the yoke of the Ottoman Empire - will be proclaimed a national holiday. This is a long-standing wish of the Bulgarian people, prompted not by hateful memories of five centuries of enslavement, but by respect for and duty to the thousands of known and unknown fighters for national freedom. March 3 is also linked with the Bulgarian people's undying love for the Russian people - that great nation whose sons 110 years ago did not spare their lives fighting for our freedom. Their heroism at Shipka, Pleven and Stara Zagora will remain for ever in our memories. In the autumn of 1944, their descendants again crossed the Danube, to be met enthusiastically on Bulgarian soil, and crowned with victory the many long years of struggle of the Bulgarian people and the communists against fascism and capitalism. This struggle paved the way for socialism in our country.

We have set ourselves an important goal - to rid ourselves of sham, window-dressing and formalism, which alienate people from the principles in the name of which we are building a new society. For instance, national holidays are dear to the heart of every Bulgarian, but in the way in which they are now celebrated there are many features that are merely a waste of time, energy and money, and rob them of their ideological, educational and emotional content. It has been decided not to hold demonstrations as in the past. In future the bodies of self-government will arrange the celebrations in keeping with the wishes of the population. By our joint efforts we must protect such celebrations from extravagance and stereotypes. Using modern forms, we must make them interesting and attractive people's holidays. Strengthening the people's faith in the Party and unity with it requires that no cult be fostered around its leaders - even the highest ranking - but demands that the ordinary people - the workingman and creator - be made the focus of everything.

Other negative phenomena must also be eliminated, such as the use of formal slogans and generalized appeals devoid of practical significance. Excessive pomposity, the passion for doing things on an exaggerated scale, and orchestrated public and political events will be abolished. This will open up new scope for the initiative of the working people.

Socialist society offers excellent opportunities for creative work and the development of talents, as it respects and honours those who work best. However, disturbing signs have appeared of the inflation of incentives based on prestige. The number of people with honorary titles, orders and medals has grown unjustifiably. It has therefore been decided to do away with the titles "Honorary" and "Merited," and not to present people with orders and medals on the occasion of anniversaries (before retirement).

The people believe that the decisions of the Political Bureau of the BCP make the attributes of state power in conditions of self-government more effective, as well as creating the conditions for greater democracy. Therein lies the strength of the present changes.

Article recieved through the Sofia-Press Agency.

A laboratory of the joint Bulgarian-Soviet factory recently set up in Plovdiv to manufacture automobile electronic systems and components for them.

Sofia-Press - TASS photo

A double-edged sword

LEONID MEDVEDKO, D. Sc. (Hist.)

If you look at the map, you will see that the Persian Gulf cuts like a sword between the Arabian peninsula and Iran. This comparison is prompted and justified by the increasingly menacing developments in the region. The crisis in it is a double-edged sword. It is affecting not only Iraq and Iran, who have been at war for seven years, but also those who previously merely watched the conflict from the sides. Foreign cargo ships, mostly tankers, have time and again either come under fire there or been damaged by mines. Lately this has happened even in regions hitherto regarded as safe. Now ships no longer feel secure even after they have left the Persian Gulf. The mine war has spread to the Gulf of Oman. All in all, more than 330 vessels have suffered from the tanker and mine war.

And then, under the pretext of protecting freedom of navigation, first American, and now French and British ships have begun to crowd the Persian Gulf. About 60 foreign warships are already in the Gulf or on their way to it. Washington is setting the pace.

Since on June 1 President Reagan approved the plan to build up American armed forces in the Persian Gulf area, about 40 American naval vessels, including aircraft carriers and assault ships, have been concentrated there. They carry more than 25,000 men, among them specially trained commando units. All this is merely the external manifestation of the mounting tension.

In the meantime, blood continues to flow on the Iraqi-Iranian front - the number of dead and wounded from both sides is now over a million. The cost of the war and the damage it has inflicted is now estimated not in tens, but in hundreds of thousands of millions of dollars. As for the consequences of the war, they are probably incalculable. With the exception of the Vietnamese war, it is the longest continuous conflict since 1945, and is setting one record after another. It has caused the greatest bloodshed and the greatest amount of destruction, and has proved the most expensive. It is also now becoming the most threatening to world peace.

Continuation of the 7-year war or of the 40-year war?

The explosive situation in the Persian Gulf is, of course, the direct outcome of the 7-year Iran-Iraq war. But in the wider sense it is the result of almost 40 years of conflict in the Middle East. In the past four decades there have been a number of flare-ups. Once again, unresolved conflicts have led to another crisis. The chain reaction continues.

But if in all the Arab-Israeli wars right up to the 1982-83 crisis, the United States preferred to operate behind the scenes, in the Persian Gulf it has come out into the open. As Joseph Harsch noted in the Christian Science Monitor, Washington and Teheran are competing for the right to a decisive vote. President Reagan's actions, according to Harsch, differ little from colonial wars in the days of Queen Victoria. This is the fourth colonial war in which the administration has been involved: Harsch cites the American venture in Lebanon, the invasion of Grenada and the bombing of Libya as the previous instances. But, compared with them, Reagan's "fourth war" is, he believes, fraught with the most adverse consequences for the United States. However, he leaves it at that. Washington seems to be rattling sabres at Teheran alone, but in reality its fist is raised over the extensive area of the Muslim world included in the zone that has been made the responsibility of the Central Command (CENTCOM).

The Iran-Iraq war - senseless for many - came to assume a neoglobalist meaning for Washington even before American ships began escorting Kuwaiti tankers, but at a time when they had already been sent to the Persian Gulf. It was in this situation that the U.N. Security Council, instead of calling on both Iran and Iraq as in the past to agree to a cease-fire, unanimously adopted Resolution 598 in July demanding that they stop hostilities. The belligerents were given to understand that if this demand remained unheeded, the Council could resort to all measures provided for in such cases by the U.N. Charter. All countries were asked to display the maximum restraint.

Iraq, which has long been calling for an end to the war, welcomed the new peace efforts on the part of the world community.

Iran, which had so far shown no readiness for a settlement, this time did not reject the Security Council resolution out of hand, but neither did it agree to its being implemented. True, Iran expressed readiness to cooperate with the U.N. Secretary-General, and it seems likely that he will shortly go to Teheran. So it looks as if certain positive shifts in its position are taking place.

Unrestrained activity

Washington, on the other hand, remains true to form. It was after the adoption of the resolution, for which the American representative in the Security Council had also voted, that the U.S. began building up its forces in the Persian Gulf. It was the first to violate the resolution. Instead of showing maximum restraint, the U.S. began to display the maximum militarist activity. Tension in the Gulf has anything but dropped as a result of the increased American-NATO military presence (allegedly in the interests of freedom of navigation). On the contrary, the more ships there are in the Gulf, the fewer oil-bearing tankers come out of it. Nor is the number of victims of the mine war dropping. And the militarist activity right next to a crisis zone is aggravating the situation. In the Arabian Sea U.S. and French ships and military aircraft are practicizing interventionist operations. In Egypt and Somalia American troops are carrying on military exercises together with local forces. In the Eastern Mediterranean the American 6th Fleet, and the

Turkish and Pakistani naval forces are also playing military games. Israel has called up reservists. Military pressure on Libya is being stepped up....

From Washington threats against Iran are being made increasingly loudly. The NATO allies are being called on to hurry up with the formation of a naval version of "multinational forces," on the pattern of those whose mission failed so ignominiously in Lebanon a number of years ago.

U.S. Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger has even given order to open fire "without hesitation" on any target posing a threat to ships or vessels flying the American flag. A pilot from the aircraft carrier Constellation has already fired "without hesitation" on an Iranian plane, but he missed. The CBS correspondent described the incident as an alarming sign, especially as the captains of American ships have received new orders - to open fire first, if they notice any "hostile intentions" in the action of Iranian launches. But the Iranians could, in their turn, preempt the Americans, who make no secret of their "hostile intentions" with regard to Iran.

In other words, this original way of putting out a fire is leading to the combustible mixture spilling over right next to the flames of the Iran-Iraq war. An explosion could occur at any minute.

Teheran, for its part, has warned that if the events provoked by Washington prevent Iran exporting its oil, then no one at all will receive oil from the area. Any American adventure in the Persian Gulf, warned the speaker of the Iranian parliament (Majlis) Hashemi-Rafsanjani, could boomerang back against the United States. Iranian leaders say they will not permit freedom of navigation American-style to become freedom for piracy for the U.S. and its allies.

While sensibly avoiding a direct clash with the Americans, Teheran is nevertheless increasing pressure on Kuwait and certain other Arab states. Following the provoked bloodshed (by whom it is so far not known exactly) between Shiite and Sunnite pilgrims in Mecca, the danger of the Iran-Iraq war developing into a wider Iran-Arab confrontation has increased still more. Such a shift in the centre of gravity of the crisis seems to suit Washington.

Pretexts and aims

Why did American ships choose this moment to offer to escort Kuwaiti tankers? Why, after the Irangate affair, has Washington made an about-turn from Iran to the Arabs and agreed to hire out the Stars and Stripes to Kuwaiti tankers? To this day hundreds of American vessels flying the Liberian, Panamanian and other flags are plying the waters of the Gulf without escort.

Perhaps the Iranian leaders were not entirely wrong in saying that all this is the result of an American plot. But a plot against Iran alone? Not for nothing has Washington long been urging not only its NATO allies, but Israel as well, to join in its military preparations in the Persian Gulf. Is it a triple American-Israeli-NATO plot against Iran and at the same time, all the liberated Muslim countries in the Near and Middle East? Wasn't the tripartite aggression against Egypt in 1956 launched under similar pretexts? And the British-American intervention in the Middle East - in Jordan and Lebanon - in 1958? And the Israeli aggression against the Arabs in June 1967? In this connection, one could also recall the recent interventionist operations to free American hostages in Iran, or the Israeli and American bandit raid on Tunisia and Libya under the pretext of fighting international terrorism.

In the light of recent history and present events, the confrontation between the Islamic Republic of Iran and neighbouring Muslim states seems even more inexplicable. Equally incomprehensible is the fact that certain Muslim countries are conducting war games right next to a crisis zone, or permitting their territory to be used for exercises by the American Rapid Deployment Force.

The American press is not even attempting to conceal the real aims of the latest American militarist "peace efforts." As the Washington Post frankly said, this is being done so as to be able to demand in return, on the one hand, greater access to local facilities and, on the other, to obtain a more open declaration of Gulf Arab support for the U.S. military buildup.

American Central Command's General George Crist also has another dream. He hopes that the successful accomplishment of its escort mission will win the United States the trust of the Arabs, so that subsequently the headquarters of the Central Command can be stationed on the territory of an Arab country. The Pentagon has already announced that a special command is being set up to oversee the operations of the U.S. Armed Forces in the Gulf Zone.

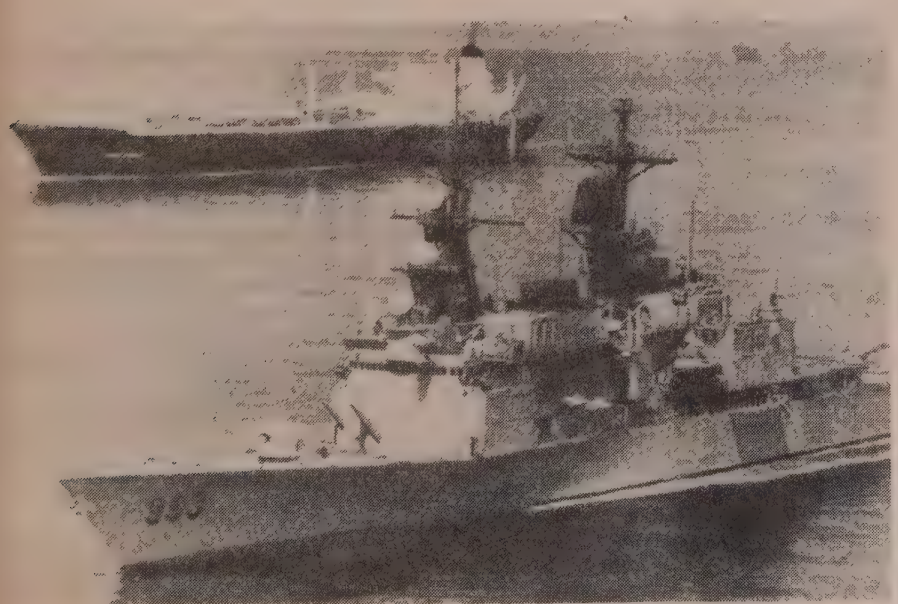
But apart from military and strategic objectives, Washington is of course pursuing certain political aims. The Reagan administration hopes that the military hysteria being whipped up in the Persian Gulf will help if not to quash the fuss surrounding the Irangate scandal, at least to detract attention from it. It is also hoped that the Persian Gulf crisis will push the problem of a Middle East settlement into the background and prevent a peaceful conference on the problem being convened. All this is being done at a time when the question of defusing local conflicts is becoming increasingly urgent.

Those, in my opinion, are the real reasons why the Pentagon is concentrating its naval forces in the Persian Gulf, ostentatiously threatening Iran, and at the same time keeping Iraq and other coastal Arab states in its line of fire.

But Washington would seem to have forgotten the outcome of the tripartite Suez venture in 1956, as well as that of the American-British intervention in the Middle East in 1958. It is greatly to be regretted if it has. Militarist ventures can lead to dangerous and unpredictable consequences. ■

The American destroyer Kidd escorting the Kuwaiti tanker Gas Prince in the Persian Gulf.

Reuter-TASS photo



A policy that is costly for mankind

ALEXEI KIREYEV

No government can stand aloof from the question of nuclear disarmament, said Eduard Shevardnadze, U.S.S.R. Foreign Minister, speaking at the Geneva Disarmament Conference. The nuclear menace does not distinguish national borders or ideological differences. The consequences of a nuclear conflict recognize no neutrality and will spare no one. But there is another, socio-economic, aspect to the disarmament problem. Nuclear arms absorb tremendous economic resources, productive forces and creative potential.

A positive solution to the disarmament issue is possible, in the opinion of the Soviet Union, along the lines of an all-embracing system of international security. "For us," said Mikhail Gorbachev, answering a question from the Indonesian newspaper Merdeka, "the idea of universal security includes international economic security. The analysis of the possibilities at our disposal assures us that the best way towards this objective lies through the implementation of the principle of "disarmament for development."

Disarmament is an economic must

Bending over backwards to maintain its position, imperialism will stoop to anything. Such policies prove costly for mankind. The nations have to pay for them with millions of human lives, the squandering of valuable resources and the channelling of colossal funds into the arms race.

Increased sophistication in creating the most advanced weaponry for destruction has resulted in annual military expenditures worldwide skyrocketing towards a trillion dollars, and can overall already be compared with the cost of the material damage caused by the two world wars.

The figures below illustrate the scale on which material resources are being squandered. Over the past forty years 4.5-7 per cent of the world's gross product has been spent on military purposes. In real terms, military expenditures grew by approximately 5 per cent every year, and are now gaining ground on world's average economic growth rate.

Over 50 million people, or more than four per cent of the gainfully employed population, work in the military sphere. 35 million serve in the armed forces and paramilitary formations. 4 million work at defence ministries and departments, and 0.5 million are engaged in military research and development. Another 5 million people work at munitions factories and 3-6 million work at the contracting plants that supply the former with components.

Colossal scientific potential is working for military purposes. In the estimates of U.N. experts, annual expenditures on military research and development towards the mid-1980s worked out at 70-80 billion dollars or amounted to approximately a quarter of world spending on research. Note that since the early 1980s the growth rates for military research and development accounted for 8-10 per cent of the annual increase having outstripped the rates of military growth across the board. This was due to greatly enhanced sophistication of the most advanced weaponry, and in the U.S., to the research being carried out in the context of the SDI programme. According to different estimates, one in every four or five scientists, and engineers is engaged in military research.

Militarism devours the most valuable natural wealth and resources, the more so in view of the fact that the shortage of many such resources are becoming increasingly apparent with every passing year. The war industry absorbs 6.3 per cent of the world's aluminium, 3.9 per cent of its chromium, 11.1 per cent of its copper, 5.1 per cent of its iron ore, 8.1 per cent of its lead, 6.3 per cent of its nickel, 6.9 per cent of its silver, and 5.1 per cent of its tin. The war industry consumes 7-8 per cent of world's power, including petroleum.

The arms race is having a harmful effect on world economic ties, as, for instance, in the sad experience of the developing world exploited by imperialism. In the late 1970s and early 1980s it was drawn into the vicious circle of development through debt, and has now got into a trillion-dollar debt squeeze. Upwards of 250 billion dollars are pumped out of developing countries every year by transnational monopolies. This figure almost exactly matches the U.S. military budget. Is this a coincidence? "There is an irrefutable causal connection between the trillion-dollar debt of these nations and the more than trillion-dollar growth of U.S. military expenditures over the past ten years," it was pointed out at the 27th CPSU Congress.

The international arms trade, whose turnover in 1984 reached 32.4 billion dollars, is on the one hand increasing the profitability of arms production as armaments are manufactured in large batches, and on the other, operating as a means of plundering the developing countries, which over the past ten years have absorbed 66-75 per cent of arms imports. Were weaponry to be excluded from the imports of the developing countries, their foreign loan demands would drop by 20 per cent and their debt would fall, in terms of current prices, by 15 per cent. For the regions containing the bulk of earth's population, resources and prospective markets, the militarization of the developing nations means moving to the brink of economic catastrophe.

The contemporary world, in many ways an integral whole, is united not only by the internationalization of economic life, the mass media and communications, but also in the face of the equal threat to everyone of nuclear annihilation, ecological catastrophe and the global outbreak of conflicts between rich and poor in different parts of the world.

For the developing countries, this entails, above all, the relaxation of the debt noose through the resumption of a direct inflow of capital and as much as possible ridding the international credit system of abuses by privately-owned banks. Moreover, the young states need to find ways of providing food for 500 million people suffering from hunger, giving an education to 800 million illiterates, ensuring medical care for 1.5 billion and creating jobs for the same number.

For the developed capitalist nations, the problem consists in accelerating growth rates, lowering budget deficits, narrowing national debt gaps, and fighting inflation, unemployment, poverty and homelessness.

For the socialist countries, it means finding additional funds to finance the restructuring of their economies, raising living standards, better satisfying the material and spiritual needs of the working people and speeding up scientific and technological progress.

Where can the funds be obtained for the solution of these complex problems, when the arms race threatens not only socio-economic progress but man's very survival?

The U.S.S.R. is convinced that these funds can be released as a result of genuine disarmament, particularly by the reduction and elimination of arms stockpiles and a cut in military expendi-

tures. Today this is not just a military-political issue but an economic imperative.

The uphill road

The idea of holding an international conference on the relationship between disarmament and development was put forward by Indira Gandhi, the great daughter of the Indian people. Her appeal found immediate support among the socialist nations, the non-aligned movement and some Western countries. In 1984 and 1985, the U.N. General Assembly passed a resolution to hold such a conference, and France offered to host it in Paris.

The efforts made by the world community sparked off resentment in the United States and among its allies. However they dared not oppose the forum openly, but immediately started trying to sabotage it. In the summer of 1985, the United States refused to take part in the work of the preparatory committee for the Conference, and in April 1986, the U.S. formally notified the U.N. Secretary-General that it would not participate in the Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development as the U.S. government "can see no interdependence of the two problems."

Under pressure from Washington Paris also gave way. Three months before the opening of the conference, France proposed postponing it but made no reference to the length of the delay. The United States' move, however, did not deter the world community, and the 41st U.N. General Assembly session once again passed a resolution to convene an international conference on the relationship between disarmament and development, this time at the U.N. Headquarters in New York, Between August 24 and September 11, 1987.

Preparation for the conference is not going smoothly. At the sessions of the preparatory committee it became clear that most Western countries were under strong U.S. pressure. The United States was trying to erode the relationship between disarmament and development by linking these issues with the security of states. As long as there is no security, it claims, disarmament is out of the question, and development in general should not be made a "hostage" to disarmament. How can security be ensured? By military-technical methods such as SDI, and nuclear deterrents for which it is necessary to raise military expenditures. This approach is seen, for example, in the working document submitted by Belgium on behalf of 12 EEC nations in April 1987.

What an incredible lack of new political thinking! It is supposed that genuine security can only exist in a heavily armed and hungry world! Or is this just a cover-up for reluctance to relinquish militaristic policies that bring in huge profits at the expense of millions who live in dire need?

And is this why the Western delegations are trying to replace the major issue with such secondary matters as comparability studies of military budgets deliberately complicated by financial calculations, and endless arguments on the "transparency" of items of military expenditure? Proposals are being advanced that are equally useless to disarmament and development. For example, the idea of setting up an "observatory," an international body to watch exclusively over the growth of military spending, or establishing a world arms trade "register" to control international arms traffic. Or introducing taxation on military expenditure, which could become a kind of "pay-off" for the continuation of the arms race, and lead to the paradoxical situation where the desire to receive more tax-deducted sums would make some countries financially interested in the continuation of arms buildups rather than in arms reduction.

The developing countries, members of the non-aligned movement, reject Western attempts to make the conference a failure before it even starts. They recognize the close relationship between the disarmament issue and development, identifying the latter as priority number one for solution. The developing nations, unlike the imperialist countries, are prepared to discuss a concrete mechanism for releasing additional funds as a result of disarmament for the purposes of development. Some of them, particularly Latin American countries, link the arms race with the problem of their growing external debt. Most developing nations take a resolutely anti-imperialist attitude, and recognize the priority of measures in the area of nuclear disarmament.

Consistent stand

The U.S.S.R. will participate in the Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development with a clear-cut programme according to which the conference should not engage only in academic theorizing on the usefulness of and need for disarmament, but should consider a concrete mechanism for releasing additional resources for development as a result of practical measures in arms reduction.

The Soviet stand is based on the principle of "disarmament for development," and on the direct military, political, economic and humanitarian relationship between these two processes united in the concept of a universal international security system.

This relationship is made explicit in the following formula: "political understandings on disarmament - real disarmament actions - conversion - development." The U.S.S.R. proceeds from the belief that steps to allocate and distribute funds should not precede real disarmament measures but be taken simultaneously with them. It is important that all nations, large and small, regardless of the level of their development and irrespective of their political system, should participate in this process.

Resources released as a result of concrete disarmament measures could be channelled to set up an internationlal fund to facilitate development through disarmament. Using the investments of countries with large economic and military potential, the fund could accumulate resources in materials, know-how, equipment and financial investment, primarily in national currencies. By agreement, the resources could be handed over to the least developed countries, nations striving to reduce the burden of military spending. It goes without saying that the money would be made available to racist, fascist and aggressive regimes.

Understandably, this and other proposals the U.S.S.R. is submitting for discussion at the conference are subject to modification, improvement and updating on the basis of the U.N. Charter and other international legislative acts.

The implementation of the programme advanced by the U.S.S.R. to eliminate nuclear and other weapons by the end of this century contained in Mikhail Gorbachev's statement of January 15, 1986, would save the U.S. approximately 1 trillion dollars by the year 2000, while for Western Europe, the figure would be around 300 billion dollars.

The implementation of the socialist countries' initiative on the numerical reduction of NATO and Warsaw Treaty troops by over half a million men could bring in more than 10 billion dollars for each side.

The Soviet proposal on a 10 per cent cut in the military budgets of the U.N. Security Council permanent member states would save 70 billion dollars in terms of prices and costs for 1983, while, in terms of current prices, the saving would be even greater.

In short, militarism and development are incompatible, and the "arms for development" principle that imperialism is imposing should be replaced by the "disarmament for development" alternative.

In the time it takes you to read this article, 20 million dollars will be spent on armaments and two thousand people in developing countries will die of hunger.

Victory for Labour

But at the price of becoming Conservative?

Not a single political commentator in Australia and New Zealand was able to resist the temptation to draw parallels between the parliamentary elections in the two countries. In Australia they were held on July 11 and in neighbouring New Zealand, on August 15. On both sides of the Tasman Sea the Labour parties again succeeded in bettering the Conservatives. The formal distinction between the elections in the two countries was that in Australia Prime Minister Robert Hawke had called the elections after suddenly dissolving parliament and thus catching the opposition off its guard. As for the Lange cabinet, it had completed its appointed three-year term.

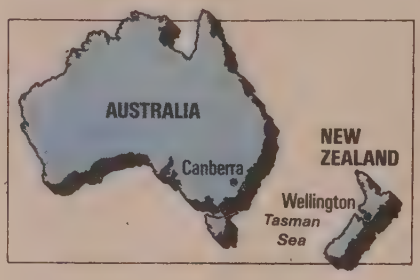
In both countries infighting in their ranks prevented the Conservative parties from offering serious resistance.

The situation in the main opposition party in New Zealand, the National Party, is illustrated by the fact that it had changed leaders three times in as many years, and the present leader, Jim Bolger, a farmer-turned-politician, is, firstly, little known and, secondly, has failed in his attempts to find a common language with one of his predecessors, former Prime Minister Robert Muldoon.

But the disarray in the Conservative ranks was not, of course, the only factor. Both Labour parties adroitly "sold" their unpopular domestic policies to the electorate.

The economic situations in both countries clearly did not favour the Labour cabinets. In both cases the state of the economy inherited from the Conservatives was poor but they had failed to improve it in their years in office. Still worse, the situation on the whole had even deteriorated. In both cases Labour played the same card, claiming that they simply did not have time radically to improve the situation, and for this reason asking for an extension of their political mandates.

As I see it, we are witnessing the appearance of a specific political phenomenon: the Labour parties of Australia and New Zealand are openly discarding their traditional reliance on the working class, and especially the industrial trade unions. They are relegating to oblivion their socialist ideals, albeit of a Social-Democratic Fabian complexion, even if they have long existed only on paper. Hawke in Australia and Lange in New Zealand persistently seek the support of big capital and cater to the interests of monopolies, transnational banks and corporations. It is generally agreed that in their economic policies both cabinets have moved to the right and earned the applause of the powers that be.



Hawke and Lange have taken their parties or, more accurately, their cabinets (because far from all in the Labour parties agree with their governments) along the road of pragmatism, arguing that this was dictated by the poor economic situation.

Indeed, the two economic pictures are similar, though in New Zealand things are worse than in Australia. What these countries have in common are a huge budget deficit, a foreign debt and declining exports of traditional farm commodities and raw materials. In more general terms, they have an economic structure that has become outdated as compared with the West European capitalist countries, and produces uncompetitive manufactured goods.

What recipes did Labour put forward?

The battered Australian dollar was floated while the New Zealand dollar was devalued. Social spending was reduced considerably, and this hurts the poorer sections of the population - large families and pensioners (about a third of the population in both countries). It was recognized that state interference in the economy should be reduced to a minimum and that it is best to return nationalized enterprises to private hands so that they can join more successfully in the competitive struggle in the free market.

Unlike Australia, where the trade unions are more powerful and the governments of individual states sometimes succeed in resisting Canberra's proposals, in New Zealand the monetarist reforms turned out to be fairly radical: the Lange government, for instance, has stopped giving farmers material support. Observers believe that in its monetarist policy New Zealand has gone much further than Thatcher's Britain and that this small country on the edge of the world is conducting the "purest experiment with a free market economy."

Both Hawke and Lange kept saying that although the cure hurt a great deal, recovery would definitely come. It can be said that Labour fought the election on the opposition's ground.

In Australia, by the way, the theme of foreign policy was almost completely absent from the election campaign. It did not promise great dividends, as the cabinet is retaining its moderate loyalty to the military alliance with the United States. Moreover, Canberra has not stopped rebuking Wellington for refusing to allow ships and planes with nuclear weapons on board into the country. It is also complaining that after Lange's pointed statement about the absence of any military threat to his country whatsoever, it is the Australian treasury that now has to shoulder the burden of the region's defence.

On the other hand, a foreign policy reflecting the views of at least 70 per cent of the country's population was the strongest point in favour of the New Zealand Labour Party and David Lange personally in the election campaign. Wellington said "No" to the American ships with nuclear weapons on board that used to put in at New Zealand's ports. Even Lange's adversary in the election, Jim Bolger, had to declare that he also subscribed to the non-nuclear principles, but added that if the allies promised not to approach New Zealand's shores with nuclear weapons they should be "taken at their word." This provoked peals of laughter.

The left-wing parties did nominate candidates but success eluded them. In both countries the left-wing movement is in a state of division and crisis. So the working class in fact had only one choice: Labour was the lesser evil. The Communist parties called on the working people to vote Labour, while stressing the need for a daily struggle for their rights, as only such a struggle can protect the substantial social gains that the working people in Australia and New Zealand have won.

ALEXEI IVKIN

Sydney

What "people's diplomacy" can achieve

Rama Vernon is director of the American organization Centre for Soviet-American Dialogue. We met her during her last visit to Moscow. This charming American woman is one of those who engage in "people's diplomacy" with remarkable dedication. Moreover, she somehow manages to find time as well for her husband, five children, and two grandchildren, some of whom have already become "people's diplomats" too. I asked Rama to tell me why she chose as her profession the development of understanding between the people of our two countries, and what her organization has achieved in the past few years. I also asked her how she pictured our future twenty years from now.

"I was a professional Yoga instructor," Rama Vernon told me. "In my pupils I encouraged the conviction that if each of us could achieve peace with himself, then everything would be wonderful, and nuclear war would never happen. Seattle was once visited by a Soviet delegation headed by Doctor Genrikh Trofimenko. At the same time the city was playing host to Assistant Secretary of State Abraham Yezreal. The city authorities decided to hold a dinner in honour of the guests at the World Affairs Council. I was looking forward to witnessing a dialogue between the representatives of the two nations. But no dialogue took place. Mr Yezreal simply unleashed a torrent of hostility, of what we call the closed door policy. In a way he lowered an iron curtain. And I realized for the first time how my government treats your country. That very day I decided that I must travel to the Soviet Union.

"Yet another incident occurred in Moscow. I was standing in the Red Square as preparations were under way for the May Day parade. Flags were fluttering, the stars on the Kremlin towers were shining and soldiers were drilling. And suddenly fear gripped me. 'Enemy image,' 'empire of evil' - flashed through my head. Where did I, so remote from politics, get these stereotypes, this fear? There were scores of other Americans in the Red Square and I felt they must have been as scared as I was. That day I understood that the only way to overcome fear is to see the true faces of those we consider the enemy. On that occasion I spent three weeks in the Soviet Union, met with officials, went to the homes of friends and to churches, and laughed with children - and everywhere I saw only the faces of friends.

"Three years ago I organized the Centre for Soviet-American Dialogue. Since then 600 Americans have travelled to the Soviet Union with the help of our organization. Among them are members of city councils, clergymen, lawyers, doctors, teachers and housewives. They met with their colleagues and discussed their common professional problems in small groups. On returning home the Americans spoke of their experiences. I think the most important thing was that they came back changed: not only had their perceptions of Soviet people changed but they had changed themselves. They were enchanted by the beauty and inner richness of your people and your culture.

"I think something has been lost in American culture. In your country Americans are conscious of what was once widespread in America but has now disappeared, particularly your wonderful hospitality and sense of family, things we so lack today. They sense the openness, concern and love of Soviet people who, in turn, generate similar emotions in them. Some Americans are looking in your culture for their roots. For the ancestors of many of them came from Russia.

"The United States is a young culture. Russia has very old cultural traditions. Yet the Soviet Union is a young culture as well. Americans coming to Russia are like children returning to their parents, to their experience. We find in you both maturity and naivety.

"I see the essence of my work in making our peoples acquainted so as to understand each other and, through understanding, to arrive at a joint solution of the deep problems dividing our countries.

"When I had just started engaging in 'peopole's diplomacy' I was asked, 'Do you really believe that what you are doing can really change anything?' At the time I answered vaguely: 'I don't know yet.' I had my doubts. But now, thinking about what we have achieved over the past two years, I say: 'We not only can change, but are already changing. Each of us is a tiny drop that will become an ocean.' In the long run people can influence their governments. I am convinced that this is possible in any country.

"You journalists are our next aim. In September, together with the Soviet Peace Committee, we are planning to hold a seminar, Soviet-American Images: A New Perspective (Film, Media and Cultural Portrayal of One Another). We will bring to Moscow a group of influential journalists, television and radio commentators, publishers and actors - those who create the hostile stereotypes. We want to make them relive the experience of the 'people's diplomats.' Maybe after that the mass media in both countries will start creating more accurate images of one another...

"If we continue our work as 'people's diplomats' and complete our projects, we will arrive at a situation in which our countries will work not just to sustain a static peace but to engage in dynamic cooperation in working out aid programmes for developing countries. If we find peace and help each other restore our own cultures from within, both superpowers will acquire tremendous potential for helping others.

"I hope that twenty years from now our children will speak of the creation of space colonies and stations, and building peace cities in which representatives of all nations will live in complete harmony. It may be that by then we will be creating a world programme for children which will teach them from babyhood to overcome prejudices and hostility with regard to those who differ from them. I hope that twenty years from now we will have no nuclear weapons trained on each other because at last we will have learned to love and to trust..."

Recorded by
NATALYA ITZKOVA

Concrete measures needed

On the question of independence for Namibia we come up against a paradox - on the one hand, it is generally accepted as being of all South African problems the most ripe for settlement, while, on the other, its solution today seems as far off as it did 21 years ago, when the U.N. withdrew South Africa's mandate to govern Namibia, and the patriotic forces led by SWAPO began their armed struggle for liberation.

In the past ten years it seemed on three occasions that a light at the end of the long tunnel of the Namibian crisis had appeared: in 1978 when the U.N. Security Council, in its resolution 435, defined the stages and forms of Namibia's transition to independence; in 1981 when the U.N. tried to get the Republic of South Africa and SWAPO to the negotiating table; and in 1984, after the signing of the ceasefire agreement between the Republic of South Africa and Angola. However, each time the light proved to be that of an approaching train. South Africa invariably violated all agreements, using the reduced tension to regroup its forces and then deal more blows at its opponents. This only served to show that South Africa could not be trusted. That was the conclusion reached by the group of prominent Commonwealth representatives who visited southern Africa in 1986.

For Africans the greatest disappointment was the absurd linkage of Namibia's independence with the presence of Cuban troops in neighbouring Angola. This was first mentioned after the secret meeting between Chester Crocker, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, and Roelof Botha, South Africa's Minister of Foreign Affairs, in May 1981. Ever since, this "linkage" has been used to frustrate plans for the settlement approved by the U.N.

It was at that time too, in 1981, that Pieter W.Botha's strategy for southwest Africa took its final shape and received the tacit assent of the White House. The plan was to rout SWAPO, destabilize Angola and capture part of its southern territory to set up a buffer zone there and form a puppet government in Namibia.

Plans are plans, but even with the backing of such a powerful partner as the United States, Pretoria has not succeeded in achieving any of these objectives.

Most important of all, it has failed to undermine the Namibian liberation movement and use the internal puppet parties to set up a real political alternative to SWAPO, which both the U.N. and the OAU rightly regard as the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people.

Moreover, the South African regime is beginning increasingly to feel the mounting cost of its Namibian venture, which comes to 1-1.4 billion dollars a year, or roughly 10 per cent of the budget. Although about half the mobilization potential of the South African army is involved in Namibia, the losses resulting from clashes with the small guerrilla units are very high. According to published figures, no less than 2,500 young South Africans have lost their lives since the senseless war began.

But for the Namibians the war has caused immeasurably greater suffering. Almost 10 per cent of the population has fled from the occupation terror to neighbouring countries. At least 10 thousand Namibians have been killed. Thousands of families have been forcibly resettled from the northern regions. The economy is in decline.

The years of repression and terror in Namibia are now boomeranging back on South Africa. Anti-war sentiments are no longer confined to the white liberal intelligentsia, but are now felt by the young who have learnt from their own experience how suicidal Pretoria's policy is. Cases of refusing to fight in Namibia have become more frequent, not because of the danger of dying in action - the South African people are courageous. But because in Namibia the soldier finds himself in the tainted atmosphere of an army of occupation that does not know what it is fighting for. Corruption, theft, looting, drug-taking and mental illness are rife.

It is sometimes claimed in the West that President Botha is refusing to make concessions on Namibia for tactical reasons, so as not to irritate the ultra-racists and geopardize his programme of reforming the apartheid system. But portraying Botha as a hostage of the right is an undeserved compliment to the right, and it also distorts his real aims in Namibia, which have undergone almost no change in his 9 years in power.

One blueprint for resolving South Africa's own problems is now being tested in Namibia. The main elements that Pretoria believes essential for its own future transformation are clear: guaranteed privileges for whites, a strong African capitalist section, reduced political rights for the majority of the population, administrative divisions on the basis of racial and ethnic discrimination, and the exclusion of any possibility of the nationalization of the economy.

Thanks to Angola's flexible and constructive policy, there are now chances of breaking the deadlock on Namibia. One Angolan proposal envisages direct talks between the sides involved in the conflict, including South Africa and SWAPO. Pretoria's response was cautious, although Neil P.Van Heerden, director-general of the Department of Foreign Affairs and a fairly influential figure among the South African Verligte - supporters of a reform of the apartheid system - said that South Africa was prepared to conduct such talks, which would include SWAPO. His words attracted attention, but it should not be forgotten that in the past such statements have proved to be merely propaganda ploys. There are also signs that the United States is viewing real possibilities of a settlement of the Namibian crisis more seriously. At any rate, Washington is undoubtedly taking into account the fact that the Democrats are determined to make American policy in South Africa an election issue during the coming campaign.

Whether this is simply a manoeuvre to win time only the future will show but Africa is still hoping that the West will use its influence to compel the racist state to accept the demands of the international community.

The need to use political means to detuse the explosive situation in southwest Africa, which threatens to turn into a chronic danger, is mounting. Concrete steps towards implementing the U.N. decisions on Namibia, especially Security Council Resolution 435, are required. Only then can the peoples of Namibia, Angola and other countries in the region hope for peace and stability. Pretoria and Washington must at last come to realize that.

BORIS ASOYAN

Boston's guilty conscience

THE SACCO-VANZETTI TRIAL: HAS NOTHING CHANGED IN SIXTY YEARS?

The State of Massachusetts, American author Michael Gold wrote on August 14, 1927, was writhing in the grip of fear, thirst for blood, and fierce hatred. Boston had lost its head and was feverish with excitement and dread, he continued, likening the city to a frightened cat springing to its feet at the merest rustle. There were unshrinking crowds at news stands, with people eager to read the daily bulletin on the Sacco-Vanzetti case, but one did not hear even a single word of sympathy with the two men. Gold explained that sympathizers were cowed, like an odd northerner finding himself among southerners lynching a wretched black. He also wrote of the hushed whispers, inarticulate mutterings and vicious roar of the faceless crowds: "Kill them!"

Killed they were. On August 23, 1927, exactly 9 days later, the two Italian immigrants - Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, workers by social status and anarchists by political conviction - were electrocuted.

The circumstances of the trial have been analyzed by legal scientists. The opinion of most American lawyers is that the defendants were denied the right to a fair court hearing. Whether Sacco and Vanzetti were guilty or not, lawyers believe, could only be established by means of a re-trial, but there hasn't been one. Both Italians are considered criminals to this day, even despite the fact that ten years ago the then Governor of Massachusetts, Michael Dukakis, declared: "any stigma or disgrace should be forever removed" from their names.

But might it not be that there are still perhaps serious grounds for taking the view that the two Italian immigrants were involved in the crimes? The district attorney who indicted them had after all eyewitness testimony, as well as direct and circumstantial evidence that 60 years ago "left no reasonable doubt," as lawyers say, about the defendants' guilt. The vast amount of literature that has continued to be published to this day, however, has torn the prosecution's case to the shreds. A recent book by historians William Young and David Kaiser, "Postmortem: New evidence in the case of Sacco and Vanzetti," has cited fresh and conclusive evidence on the Sacco-Vanzetti case to prove the two Italian anarchists' innocence beyond doubt.

The reluctance of the judiciary to acknowledge its own mistakes and review the unjust sentences is a familiar malady that is hard to cure.

But are the judiciary alone to blame? None of those who, by virtue of their official position or public duty, should have seen to it that justice triumphed have chosen to do so. They were all easy in their minds: their constituents were not in the least upset about the verdict of guilty. On the contrary, judging by Gold's description of the reaction of Bostonians, the descendants of the first settlers who sailed to America on the Mayflower, the vast majority of white Americans were pleased with the outcome of the trial.

The defendants were doomed from the moment police officer Connolly arrested them in a street-car. Whether they were guilty or innocent did not matter. No jury would have acquitted them. The consensus of white society was expressed by the foreman of the jury, who said bluntly: "Damn them, they ought to hang them anyway."

Governor Fuller did not conceal that he saw the task of the trial as being to disperse what he called a brood of anarchists, Bolsheviks and members of the trade union, the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW).

The years 1919 and 1920 have gone down in U.S. history as the time of a hysterical "Red Scare" campaign. The Attorney-General spoke of "60,000 dangerous radicals."

At the Sacco-Vanzetti trial, it was not criminals but political prisoners who were in the dock. They were tried not for murder and robbery but for their views, and for being foreigners, aliens. The respectable citizens on the jurors' bench looked at the defendants with hatred and malice. Having moved overseas from Italy a short time before, and speaking English poorly, the two men seemed to illustrate society's firm conviction that all "Red troublemakers" were foreigners and all evil came from them. The blind hatred of the dark-haired, swarthy strangers was the most powerful driving force at the trial. Is it not the same hatred that prevents the acquittal of innocent people today?

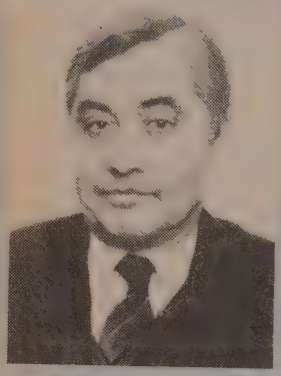
LEONID MLECHIN

Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti: not guilty.

TAKING UP A POINT

I have read a lot in the Canadian and American press about the perestroika in the Soviet Union. It seems to me that the process of democratization is not going smoothly. It is clearly a struggle between liberals and conservatives, so would it not be simple to channel this struggle into the framework of the two-party system which has justified itself in the West? Then everyone would believe in the democratic nature of your society. Incidentally, many believe that the appearance of your perestroika, glasnost, etc. was influenced by Western democracies. Among them Canada's!

JAMES MCPHERSON
Toronto, Canada



ALEXANDER LEBEDEV, a historian, replies:

Not by foreign example

I agree that one often comes across such views both in the Canadian press and in publications in other countries. Incidentally, Canadian radio recently reported that we or, to be more exact, our democratic process and glasnost, would soon have to face new tests.

This does not come as a surprise. It looks as if Western propaganda has recovered from the first shock of the perestroika in the Soviet Union and is preparing to put the Soviet Union to new tests.

Let them. It is all so familiar. What is interesting is something else. After listening to the programme I just mentioned, my impression was that if we have anybody to thank if the process of renovation of our entire public life proves successful it is the Canadians. Yes, the Canadians. Without a trace of embarrassment we are told that so great is the effect of Canadian democracy on the minds of men that the Soviet leaders were fascinated by it and are transplanting it to Soviet soil.

What can one say to that? I myself have visited Canada and sincerely admired many things I saw there. But just as sincerely I rejected other things in its political and cultural life. I saw time and again that the good points in the majority of Canadian people - apart from their industriousness - were their sense of proportion, humour and, above all, realism. But it seems these fine qualities sometimes bypass some Canadians - at least those working in the mass media and propaganda.

I would never dare claim that the efforts in support of nuclear disarmament by that prominent Canadian Pierre Trudeau were the result of his falling under the spell of Soviet ideology, or anything of the kind.

As for the above letter (which in part echoes the Canadian radio programme I heard), it has prompted the following reflections.

On the one hand, there is increased scepticism in the West about the process of change in our country; the sincerity of the efforts of the Soviet leadership are doubted, as is the creative potential of the Soviet people. And on the other hand, the Western democracies seem to be competing for the title of who has done most to engender the ideas of perestroika. We also have the impression that perestroika is in a certain respect being looked forward to, apparently in the hope of seeing the implementation in our country of ideals that Western democracies have never succeeded in reaching. Even the oldest, let alone the younger ones.

Canada, if I am not mistaken, acquired (from Britain) the first independent Constitution in its history five years ago, and this marked an important stage in the evolution of the country's democratic system. True, French-speaking Canadians complain that it did not make them equal partners with English-speaking Canadians, while Eskimos, people of mixed race and Indians did not receive full democratic rights. But there is always room for improvement, and the reserves of Canadian democracy have not been exhausted.

I am far from advising Canadians (or for that matter, the British, Americans, French, or West Germans...) on how to perfect their system: what they should do about unemployment, homelessness, the hungry and victims of political and racial discrimination, or how to cope with national and religious strife.

The realities of life in the West - and we know this full well - are not made up entirely of social and other evils. Canada and her partners and allies have a great deal to be proud of. There is much that we could learn from them. But that does not give them the right to claim that they, and they alone, have genuine democracy, and that the only sign of such democracy is a multi-party system.

I don't believe that our views on democracy are so diametrically opposite. In some respects they probably coincide. But they differ greatly in the assessment of the means and methods of its implementation, and most of all in its aims. What is of principled importance is the extent to which the people as a whole are embraced by the democratic system, can use its fruits and are involved in decision-making. In other words, a multi-party system is not a decisive criterion of democracy. There are other, far more real and significant ones, among them glasnost. That means not only openness about the processes of running the state and adopting political decisions, but also the closest direct agreement as to what constitutes public interests in the course of broad and constant discussions, criticism and self-criticism.

I have no intention of trying to persuade Canadians to accept, for

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, a one-party system. But it is futile to try and squeeze the processes now at work in Soviet nto the framework, typical of the s a whole and Canada in r, of two opposing parties - ative and Liberal.

ke it easier for Western readers, like to explain that a one-party is a sort of consensus where s of a society agree on the aims spects for its development. And ountry this consensus is expres- he Communist Party.

return to the conservatives and We have wholehearted suppor- perestroika and enthusiastic of glasnost. But it is no secret e are also people who are wary ne rate at which changes are lace, democratization and some ncrete forms they are assuming. ally, the whole gamut of such with many additional nuances, found in a single individual. In rds, the struggle is taking place rding to the "conservative"-"li- artern, but the line separating is much less well defined, and, al, less obvious.

portant thing is that this process verything connected with it) d in our country, at the heart of ociety, and follows the forms f it. The idea of perestroika was ed to us on western, eastern or winds... We find the inspiration emocratization neither in ster, nor on Capitol Hill, nor in rience of the Novgorod Veche the oldest forms of people's

ay quite openly that we are the art of democracy. It is not an and cannot be learnt by ndence courses or cramming. not count on anyone's help. we could well borrow some- at suits us from Canada's expe- coping with similar problems. omething from our perestroika seful to Canadians or anyone shall be only too glad. That's ould be.

er, be that as it may, when we democracy is the guarantee of ess of our perestroika and its bility, we are talking about emocracy, not Canadian. So we Canadian readers to excuse us, to take offence. ■

FOLLOW-UP

I found the article "Borrowing from a computer" (No. 19/87) extremely interesting. The introduction of electronics to finance will make entirely new relations possible in the sphere of production, and permit the whole economy to take a big qualitatively new step forward. With time, electronic systems will help rid us of awkward bookkeeping and control all a factory's resources.

We have skilled specialists and up-to-date computer designs. What then is preventing us from putting these designs into practice?

I. SILKIN
Tambov, U.S.S.R.

A READER'S OPINION

The Western media are doing everything possible to distort the situation in Nicaragua. In order to justify the crimes of the contras, they maintain that theirs is a Christian mission of liberation. At the same time Nicaragua is portrayed as an aggressive and backward communist country that is imposing atheism on its people. Western papers, TV and radio stations shout loudly that the Sandinist totalitarian regime does not allow freedom of religion, and persecutes and hounds priests....

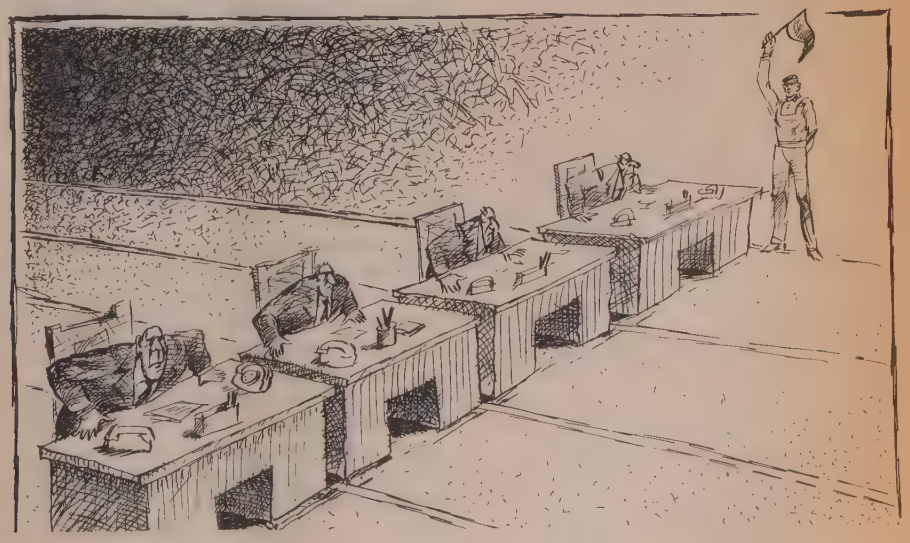
When in Guatemala the counterrevolutionaries killed 13 priests and nuns, and in El Salvador many priests were victimized just for trying to preach Christian norms of behaviour in their countries, the Western mass media did its utmost to cover up such facts. But at the same time they allege that in Nicaragua people are persecuted for their religious beliefs. Yet it is well known that in Nicaragua members of the clergy hold the posts of Ministers of Culture, of Education and for Foreign Affairs. Never before have Catholic colleges and universities in Nicaragua had as many students as now. For the first time in the history of Latin America they are being subsidized by the government. Perhaps the views of some Nicaraguan priests do not entirely coincide with those of the Vatican, but as a believer myself I think that the allegation that there is no freedom of belief in Nicaragua is founded on political and ideological rather than religious grounds. What it all amounts to is that the so-called people's church or the church of the poor has become a threat to the United States' national security. That's not surprising, as it preaches the ideals of peace, justice and democracy.

LUIGI REDAELLI
Seriate, Italy

VIEWPOINT

I come from a Republican family. In the 1960s I was in exile in Switzerland, where I began to read the Soviet press with great interest, including your magazine, and started to get to know Soviet literature. For many years my family and I have dreamed of making a trip to the U.S.S.R. My son has even hung a map of the U.S.S.R. in his room, as well as photographs of Russian churches. I find that much better than the photos of rock groups that usually decorate the rooms of Spanish youths. I am 52 years old and have no reason to change my kindly feelings towards your people.

ASCENSION GONZALEZ
Leon, Spain



Drawing by I.Smirnov

RETURNING TO THE LESSONS OF THE PAST

GEORGI SMIRNOV, corresponding member,

Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R.

It is a regrettable fact that people are far more inclined to discourse on the lessons of history than to draw practical conclusions from them.

There no doubt are reasons for this, though, frankly speaking, the price to be paid for failing to heed the lessons of the past is catastrophically soaring. Today, as before, disregard for the lessons of history displayed by some statesmen, political groups and parties stems from grave political and military-strategic miscalculations, shortsighted overestimation of one's own strength and underestimation of the countervailing factors, and misconception of one's own interests. Of course, elementary forgetfulness, a poor historical memory and simply inadequate knowledge of history play their part.

At the present time in our country there is a heightened, one might say, avid interest in history, in historical knowledge. This phenomenon is a natural element of the intellectual upsurge which accompanies the renewal now under way, or rather, constitutes one of its essential aspects. This keen interest in history is evidence of the desire of the mass of Soviet citizens to fill in the gaps in their knowledge and understanding of historical periods and events which have not been properly elucidated in historical literature.

The desire to obtain a deeper understanding of the historical truth, to learn more about the men and women who carried out the great revolution, built socialism and were the victors in the Great Patriotic War is natural and praiseworthy. Moreover, it refutes the allegation that our people have lost interest in the past. The perestroika has provided conclusive proof that, notwithstanding all the shortcomings in education and upbringing, people have lost neither a taste for historical knowledge nor the desire fully to understand history.

Another reason for the growing prestige of historical knowledge and our acute consciousness of the need to return to the lessons of the past is the high pitch of international tension and the fact that people do not want any repetition of the mistakes of the past. In this connection particular significance attaches to the events and the positions of political leaders and governments which led to the outbreak of the second world war.

* * *

The modern world is faced with a host of complex and pressing problems - economic, political, social and ecological. But decisive for the destiny of humanity are the contradictions arising from the struggle between two tendencies: on the one hand, the arms race which gives rise to uncontrollable military-strategic situations, the policy of nuclear deterrence pursued by the most reactionary groups of imperialism, and, on the other hand, the efforts of the peace forces aimed at ending the arms race and removing the threat of war and the system of proposals advanced by the Soviet Union for reducing armaments and banning the production and stockpiling of the most dangerous types of armaments.

There is, of course, a tremendous difference between the present situation and that which existed on the eve of World War II. However, there is something in common between the two, something that today, too, should command our attention, specifically, the fact that both then and now some bourgeois political circles, unfortunately extremely influential, choose fallacious criteria in appraising political actions, war preparations and war itself. These criteria are sometimes called ideological. Actually, they represent the striving of a section of the capitalist class to shape world politics and plan world war in conformity with the reactionary ideology of "crusading against communism," "extirpating the Bolshevik peril," and the like. It will be recalled that this was the "ideological" underpinning of the Western ruling circles' policy expressed in their support of German militarism in the 1920s and 1930s, in the Munich policy of backing Hitlerite expansion in Europe in the 1930s and the encouragement of Japanese aggression against China. All this had the "ideological" aim of putting an end to "godless Bolshevism." But what was the result?

The principal lesson to be drawn from the history of the 20 years between the two world wars and of World War II itself is the fallacy of the "ideological" approach to the cardinal problem facing all mankind - the problem of war and peace in the 20th century. That approach, determined by plans for "social revenge" has become all the more dangerous in our time, when the unleashing of war could cut short the existence of the human race which until now has been taken for granted. It is this that prompts us to return again and again to the circumstances which in the 1930s escalated international tension and finally led to world war.

The prime question facing everyone today, irrespective of social status and political convictions, is the choice between peaceful and military means of resolving international problems. And here too we must turn to the lessons of the past.

In the centre of all the prewar political and diplomatic passions was Hitler Germany, with its striving for revision of the international relations based on the Versailles Treaty, with its claims to "lebensraum," and ultimately to world domination. The advent to power in Germany of Hitler fascism meant not only a heightening of the danger to the peoples presented by the proponents of the most reactionary, inhuman racist ideology and policy, but also the direct danger of war.

Was the world aware of the war threat emanating from Hitler Germany? By and large it was. The danger was obvious. Before the eyes of the whole world the Hitlerites scrapped one article of the Versailles Treaty after another, introduced conscription and, in effect, restored the army, built up a navy and launched a frenzied arms drive. However unjust the Versailles Peace Treaty was, its negative features in no way justified the headlong militarization of Germany under the aegis of the swastika or Hitler's openly proclaimed plans for world domination. Nevertheless the attitude of the Western governments to Germany's

Georgi Smirnov is an alternate member of the CPSU Central Committee and director of its Institute of Marxism-Leninism.

war preparations was paradoxical; their policy became increasingly suicidal.

The plans and behaviour of the nazi leadership which ultimately led to the unprovoked attack on Poland on September 1, 1939, and the beginning of World War II, as well as the attitude to these plans of the different states, can be understood only by correctly evaluating the complex interweaving of diverse contradictions. By the mid-thirties the capitalist world had split into two opposing groups. Germany, Italy and Japan belonged to one group, Britain, France and the U.S., to the other. But this was not a simple confrontation of the two groups: as distinct from the period preceding the first world war, there now existed an extremely important new motive for the political behaviour of the capitalist powers. If the ambitions of the ruling circles of Germany, Italy and Japan, who were rabidly anti-communist and anti-Soviet and considered themselves cheated by the Versailles-Washington system established after the first world war were expressed most clearly in a striving for unlimited territorial expansion, the "sated" imperialist bourgeoisie of Britain, France and the U.S. sought ways of making use of the aggressiveness of nazi fascism and Japanese militarism exclusively for the struggle against, and the destruction of, the Soviet Union.

Blinded by class hatred for the workers' and peasants' state, the imperialists attempted, as far back as 1918-20, to carry out their plans, but met with failure. In the 1930s they mounted another anti-Soviet campaign. It was precisely at this time that the idea of ideological affinity with the powers that had concluded the anti-Comintern pact was widely propounded in the West. British and French statesmen saw the perspective of world development in the 20th century in the realization of the aims shared by Germany and Japan as well as by the Western powers - namely, the elimination of the Soviet Union and the crushing of the revolutionary forces in Germany, France and Italy.

True, some Western statesmen were opposed to a deal with Hitler, Winston Churchill and Franklin D. Roosevelt among them. Even initiators and proponents of the policy of compact with the fascist militarist powers, such as Chamberlain in Britain and Laval in France, had to manoeuvre under pressure from sober-minded political forces, but class hatred, invariably, took the upper hand. The policy of appeasement of the fascist aggressor, a policy of concessions to meet claims advanced by Berlin, was vigorously pursued.

The amazing thing was that this line of behaviour was followed parallel and in step with the Axis powers' mounting aggression. With the tacit or open consent of the Western powers, Hitler moved his troops into the Rhineland, seized Austria, annexed Czechoslovakia's Sudetenland, later occupied the Czech lands in their entirety, and threatened Poland. The Italian fascists occupied Abyssinia. Japan waged predatory war against China. So great was the "peacemakers'" eagerness to appease the Fuehrer that consent to the severance of the Sudetenland from Czechoslovakia took the form of a reciprocal initiative on the part of none other than British Prime Minister Chamberlain. Great importance was attached to the agreement with Hitler; the meeting with him was prepared in strict secrecy under the code name Plan Z. Every move made by Chamberlain and his supporters reflected a total loss of a sense of reality; at the root of this amazing blindness was the above-mentioned "ideological" (anti-Soviet) approach.

After signing in Munich the agreement with Hitler on the severance of the Sudetenland from Czechoslovakia and its transfer to Germany, Chamberlain declared that this meant "peace in our time." But was he really thinking of peace? As likely as not he believed that Munich had provided new confirmation of Hitler's intention to defeat the Soviet Union on the battlefield, to destroy socialism. Had Chamberlain and his colleagues been more discerning, they surely would have foreseen that Hitler had plans of his own that did not fit in with their calculations.

Soviet leaders time and again warned British and French leaders that Hitler's war preparations might create a danger primarily for the western powers. Thus, in a talk with Anthony Eden as far back as March 1935, Maxim Litvinov, then U.S.S.R. People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs, said: "It is too early at this juncture to say in which direction Germany will strike first. For instance, it is conceivable, and indeed most likely, that the first blow will be directed not against the U.S.S.R. In general by placing the accent at present on expansion eastward, Hitler wants to deceive the Western countries and get them to sanction the arming of Germany. When these armaments will have reached the level Hitler desires, the guns may begin shooting in quite a different direction."

But the Western politicians did not trust Soviet diplomacy. This was due of course to the class instincts of Chamberlain and his ilk. After all, France could not but have known that in his notorious "Mein Kampf" Hitler had called France the mortal enemy of the Third Reich. The tragedy of this situation is doubly apparent today when documents which were concealed from the public in that period have come to light. For instance, it has become known that on November 5, 1937, Hitler called a conference at which he expatiated on the theme of "lebensraum," underscoring that German politicians should primarily bear in mind that Germany had two sworn enemies - Britain and France. At that conference he spoke of the need to crush Czechia and Austria. As for the possibility of military interference by Russia, this was to be forestalled by "swift action by our troops."

Thus, while claiming that everything possible was being done to preserve peace, in reality preference was given

On his return from Munich Chamberlain declared: I have brought peace to our generation.

not to peaceful settlement and peace but to military preparation and war, in pursuit of narrow selfish class interests. And this despite the fact that real avenues for peaceful development did exist. Here you have the most important historical lesson for the nations and political leaders, a lesson which should not be ignored in framing policies today.

* * *

Could World War II have been prevented?

It was known that Hitler harboured secret plans for the seizure of territory not only in the East but also in the West, including France and Britain. Joining of forces with the Soviet Union against the Hitler menace would have been the natural way out for Britain and France. The combined material and manpower resources of these three countries would have been an insurmountable barrier for the aggressor.

It is in place to recall today that it was thanks to the efforts of the anti-Soviet quarters that the many proposals advanced by the Soviet Union for building collective security in Europe, including the proposal to conclude an Eastern pact, were turned down. Torpedoed later were talks on the conclusion of a tripartite agreement between Britain, France and the U.S.S.R. Today, studies are appearing which, on the basis of documents now declassified, show how from year to year, from month to month, Soviet proposals for cooperation against the threat posed by Hitler Germany were rejected, one after another, while the slightest contacts with Hitler and his vague assurances were presented as a victory for a policy of peace.

The Soviet Union saw that Britain and France were persistently seeking alliance with Germany, it saw their striving to direct the nazi war machine against the U.S.S.R. It could not but be aware of the approaching danger of being left isolated in this complex situation.

Meanwhile, in December 1938 France concluded a non-aggression pact with Germany. The Communists alone protested against it. Who remembers that pact now? During the 1938 negotiations, French Minister Bonnet told Ribbentrop: "Leave us our colonial empire and we'll let you have the Ukraine." What generosity at the expense of others! Prior to that, Britain had signed a similar agreement with Germany (at the same time as the Munich compact). The British historian Ian Grey, a man of conservative views, wrote that since "Chamberlain and Halifax ... continued obstinately to avoid a direct agreement with the Soviet government" and turned down its plan for an Anglo-Franco-Soviet pact of mutual assitance, "it was recognized in Moscow that Russia stood alone and must act to preserve her own interests." Thirty years later a British postwar Prime Minister, Harold Macmillan, wrote: "Certainly the Russians ... believed that the western allies might not be sorry to see Russia dragged into a war with Germany." In general it may be definitely said that the Soviet Union was placed in a position that compelled it to conclude a non-aggression agreement with Germany. This was necessitated by its own security interests and by the behaviour of the then leadership of Britain and France.

The signing of the Franco-German non-aggression pact. Paris. December 1938.

Informing parliament in February 1945 of the decisions of the Crimean (Yalta) conference of the leaders of the three allied powers - the U.S.S.R., the U.S.A. and Great Britain, British Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden said: "Can anyone doubt that if we had had in 1939 the unity between Russia, this country and the United States that we cemented at Yalta, there would not have been the present war." However, through the fault of the Western powers a real opportunity to conclude a military alliance against the aggressors and thereby prevent war was missed.

Today we have every grounds to draw the cardinal conclusion that had the leadership of Britain and France been able at that time fully to appreciate the danger of the situation that was taking shape, had they been able for the sake of preventing war to waive ideological differences, as the U.S.S.R. had in advancing its proposals for mutual assistance, then indeed war might have been averted.

* * *

Now let us turn to the events directly connected with the attack on Poland and the beginning of World War II. Poland was the first victim of fascist aggression in that war. And naturally for Poland it was from the very outset a defensive and just war.

The hostilities took a tragic course for the Poles. Taking advantage of its overwhelming superiority of strength, especially in tanks and aircraft, the German army was able to give effect to its blitzkrieg strategy. Within a week the invaders reached the approaches to Warsaw. The Polish defences were breached in depth. On September 17, the government of Poland fled, abandoning the people and the country to their fate.

The working people of Poland and several army units that had retained their combat capability even after the flight of the government, continued to fight the German fascist invaders. The 20-day defence of Warsaw inscribed a glorious page in the history. Among the defenders of the city, moreover at the most difficult and dangerous sectors of the battle, were the Polish Communists, who had emerged from the underground and prisons. They set an example of courage and self-sacrifice in service to their country. Some garrisons continued to offer resistance to the invaders until the beginning of October.

The policy of the ruling circles, a policy that undermined the country's defence potential and ran counter to the national interests of the Polish people, contributed to the defeat of bourgeois

Poland. On August 20, 1939, ten days before the beginning of the second world war, the Polish Foreign Minister officially declared: "Poland is not bound to the Soviets by any military agreement and the Polish government has no intention of concluding such an agreement."

The government of the U.S.S.R. took diplomatic and military steps to check the advance of the German armies towards the Soviet frontiers. On September 17, 1939, the Red Army crossed the state frontier and took the population of Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia under its protection.

At that time some individuals who played an important political role in the Soviet Union, made incorrect statements which did not contribute to friendly relations with the Poles. Thus, the report to the extraordinary fifth session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. on October 31, 1939, delivered by Vyacheslav Molotov, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars and People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs, gave a preposterous appraisal of the Polish state as "an ugly product of the Versailles Treaty." This appraisal ran counter to the historical truth, it was impermissible as applied to the Polish people.

The restoration of an independent Polish state was the long-cherished desire of the oppressed people of Poland. The annulment by the October Revolution of the treaties and agreements on the partitioning of Poland concluded by the government of the former Russian empire was decisive in facilitating the exercise by fraternal Poland of its right to national self-determination.

Here is what Wojciech Jaruzelski wrote on this score in a recent article in the journal Communist: "Extending, like the 1905 revolution to the entire territory of tsarist Russia, the Great October Revolution was thereby to a considerable extent also a Polish revolution. Hence the active part taken in it by Poles, including those who formed separate units of the Red Army.... The October Revolution was the most important foreign policy precondition for the restoration of an independent Polish state. The military defeat of Germany and Austro-Hungary, co-initiators of the partition of Poland, as well as the position of the Western powers, which, in no small degree, took shape under the impact of the first decrees of Soviet government, provided additional factors."

The rebirth of the Polish national state removed the barriers that had divided the Polish people, erased the frontiers artificially and forcibly established by alien rulers which had hindered the economic, political and cultural unification of the people. This became the necessary precondition for paving the way to progressive social movements, for the development of the class struggle for a new Poland rid of exploitation of man by man. All this engendered great hopes among the Polish masses: a large part of the citizens of the country felt themselves to be a "generation of independence" and associated their far-reaching expectations with the attainment of statehood. The application to this state of superficial and humiliating appraisals was wrong in essence and incompatible with the internationalist convictions of the Soviet people, with their understanding of the nature of relations with people of Poland.

* * *

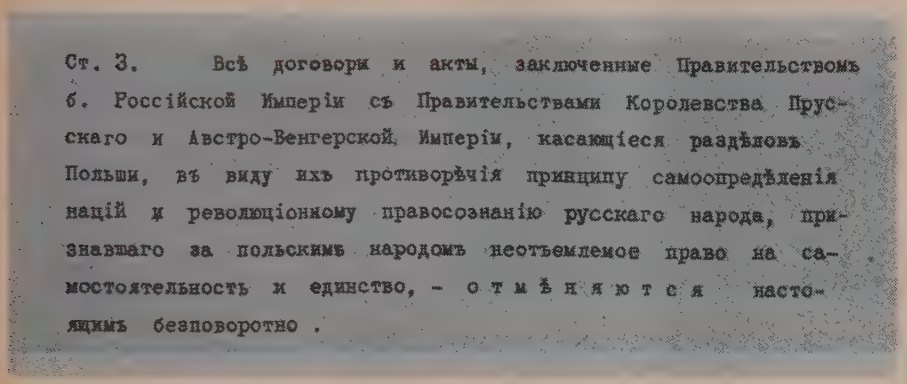
The political character of World War II was complex and multiform. It began basically as an imperialist war on the part of both of the opposing coalitions, and on the part of the fascist-militarist bloc it remained an unjust war of conquest to the end. As regards the coalition of capitalist powers which were fighting the aggressors the character of the war was not identical for all of members of the coalition, and on the whole it gradually changed, acquiring, primarily in the minds of the peoples of these countries, and their armies, the features of a just war in defence of national independence against the threat of fascist enslavement. Developments inevitably compelled the ruling quarters of the Western powers to advance to the fore politicians capable of comprehending the substance and meaning of the plans of conquest harboured by the Hitler clique and German monopoly capital behind it.

On October 9, 1941, Franklin D. Roosevelt told Congress: "We have known what victory for the aggressors would mean to us.... We know that we could not defend ourselves in Long Beach Sound or in San Francisco Bay." His awareness of the fact that the struggle against Hitlerism had to be waged to the end, to the total eradication of all trace of it, the realization that this was the common task of all humanity, one that took precedence over all individual interests - all this made Roosevelt a great politician, a great man.

The terrible danger of the establishment of a brutal foreign rule, the danger of nazi enslavement, hung over many nations of the world. A deadly threat menaced social progress and human civilization in general. The defeat of fascism became a matter of life and death, a goal for the sake of which it was essential to create the broadest possible front of forces capable of fighting the aggressors. The communist movement made it its prime task to mobilize all democratic and anti-fascist forces to combat fascism.

The Soviet Union advanced in the sphere of interstate relations the idea of an anti-Hitler coalition. Ultimately, the anti-Hitler coalition became a reality, uniting countries with different social systems for accomplishment of the paramount task of all mankind - that of saving the nations from fascism.

This aspect of the question, the very fact of the possibility, the objective necessity, and, one may say, the inevitability of the uniting of different social forces for the solution of a supra-class task affecting all of humanity has a particular significance for our time, when the danger of a thermonuclear catastrophe hangs over the world. It is precisely from this standpoint that the experience of the anti-Hitler coalition is invaluable. Speaking of this, Mikhail Gorbachev has stressed: "...States diametrically opposed to one another by virtue of their social nature, can join efforts to fight a common enemy, they can find mutually acceptable solutions, can act effectively for the sake of achieving common goals." And further: "It is particularly appropriate to recall



Ст. 3. Всѣ договоры и акты, заключенные Правительствомъ б. Россійской Имперіи съ Правительствами Королевства Прусскаго и Австро-Венгерской Имперіи, касающіеся раздѣловъ Польши, въ виду ихъ противорѣчія принципу самоопредѣленія націй и революціонному правосознанію русскаго народа, признавшаго за польскимъ народомъ неотъемлемое право на самостоятельность и единство, - о т м ѣ н я ю т с я настоящимъ безповоротно .

An excerpt from the Soviet government's August 1918 decree, signed by Lenin, annulling all the treaties on the division of Poland concluded by tsarist Russia with Prussia and Austro-Hungary.

this today when all the nations of the world have one common enemy - the threat of nuclear war, one paramount task - to remove this threat."

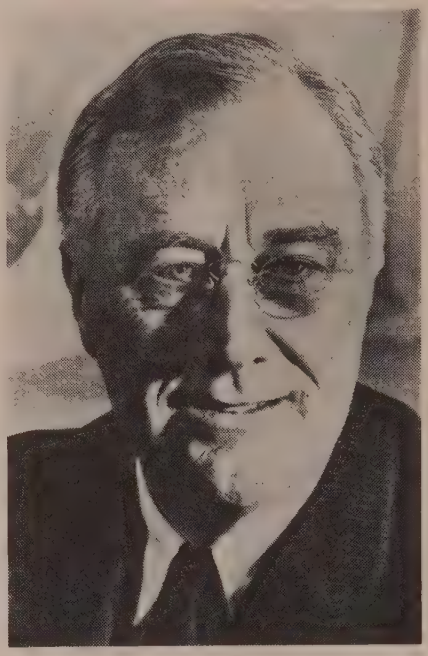
The emergence of the anti-Hitler coalition was a far from simple process. Forces which but recently had lauded the Munich pact and rejected proposals for joint action with the U.S.S.R. to avert the war continued to operate behind the scenes. In its relations with its allies the Soviet side was sober-minded and reasonable, displaying a readiness to consider the interests of others. It sought to ensure the most propitious international conditions for the defeat of fascism and the liberation of countries and peoples that had fallen under nazi domination. The numerous reminiscences of Western personalities who participated to one or another degree in the meetings of the Big Three, and were privy to the mechanism of cooperation within the framework of the coalition pay tribute to the honesty and frankness of the Soviet Union, its readiness to focus all its efforts on the attainment of the common objective.

Recalling the Yalta Conference, Harry Hopkins, Roosevelt's closest associate, wrote: "The Russians had proved that they could be reasonable and farseeing and there wasn't any doubt in the minds of the President or any of us that we could live with them and get along with them peacefully for as far into the future as any of us could imagine." These possibilities, however, were not utilized.

Roosevelt and Churchill were representatives of their class and they upheld the interests of their own social system. Nevertheless, in face of the threat of fascism, they rose above class egoism. And this bore fruit - fascism was defeated, and victory was followed by the postwar settlement which remains in force to this day and which, if upheld and cherished, could become the foundation of lasting peace and cooperation.

President Roosevelt, whose attitude to the Soviet Union had been cautious at first, later in the course of joint action with the new ally came to believe that the United States and the Soviet Union were destined to play a responsible role not only in the prosecution of the war but in the postwar period as well. He perceived the necessity of prolonged and stable cooperation between the two powers, notwithstanding the difference in their social systems. In other words, the President of the United States accepted the principle of coexistence, and was inclined to believe that it was on this basis that peaceful development on our planet could be ensured.

The historical lesson afforded by the formation and the success of the anti-Hitler coalition consists in the fact that it offered convincing proof of the possibility of practical, large-scale cooperation between states with different social systems, the possibility of their acting together for the sake of achieving common aims in the interests of all mankind.



President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

The experience of the anti-Hitler coalition gives grounds for hoping that the capitalist society, faced with the threat of nuclear war, will be able to choose political leaders who will soberly and objectively appraise the situation and take the road of peaceful resolution of problems confronting all mankind. This would lay the necessary groundwork for resolving the main problem of our time - that of saving mankind.

The international aspect of the new thinking that is asserting itself today presupposes that the Marxist-Leninist principle of the priority of the interests of all mankind over class interests is now more timely than ever. The global problems facing humanity, and above all the main problem of preventing an all-annihilating war can be solved only by the joint efforts of all states and nations, all men and women of good will, whatever their social condition and convictions.

It is precisely on this plane that the lessons of the anti-Hitler coalition are particularly relevant. They teach us and oblige us soberly and clearly to perceive the danger of underestimating the value of the unity of all peace forces and the dnager of the realization of "ideological" mirages, political ambitions and egoistic interests by means of armed force.

* * *

Today it is no longer enough merely to call for an end to war as an instrument of policy, as a means of resolving interstate contradictions. It is necessary today to do everything to translate the anti-war slogans into life, into the reality of international relations. This is precisely what lies at the heart of Soviet foreign policy, it is on this that the complex of our proposals aimed at scaling down the military confrontation between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A., between the Warsaw Treaty countries and the NATO powers, is oriented. Above all, it is a matter of removing from the arsenals of the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. two classes of nuclear armaments: the medium- and shorter-range missiles, (from 500 to 1,000 kilometres). This is what is called the "double global zero concept." It applies to weapons systems directly confronting each other in Europe, and not only there.

However, as important in itself as is the reaching of agreement on these classes of weapons, it must be organically incorporated in the process of negotiations on reducing and eliminating strategic nuclear armaments and preventing their orbiting in outer space, on scaling down conventiolnal weapons, and creating of comprehensive system of internatiolnal security based on the cooperation of all states. In other words, a real beginning must be made in building a nuclear-free and non-violent world, and moving forward to an epoch without wars and without weapons.

On this anniversary of World War II it is in place to recall the fundamental principles of the foreign policy strategy of safeguarding life on Earth, worked out by the April (1985) plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee and the 27th CPSU Congress, the concrete proposals of the Soviet Union for attaining a nuclear-free world and realiably ensuring the security of the nations. The political behaviour of the Soviet state fully confirms Mikhail Gorbachev's statement that nothing in our philosophy precludes the conclusion of the most radical agreements on disarmament, all the way to the total demilitarization of the planet under international control.

The CPSU believes in the power of reason, in the ability of people to realize what their true interests are and to work out reliable guarantees for the development of human society along the high road of peace and progress.

■

Harare, a year later

A year has passed since the VIII Conference of Heads of State and Government of the Non-Aligned Countries at which the Zimbabwe capital, Harare, was chosen as the next headquarters of the non-aligned movement. Our correspondent Nikolai Reshetnyak interviewed MAURICE NYAGUMBO, administrative secretary, Politbureau member of the Zimbabwe African National Union - Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF).

How would you sum up the results of the year that has elapsed since the conference?

We are happy to note that despite the fairly acute clash of views, the different approaches to specific problems of world politics, and the at times bitter arguments, the conference, as was later acknowledged, proved a complete success. Moreover, I would say that the Harare meeting was something of a triumph for the African members of the non-aligned movement. I can say this because the very fact that my country was chosen as the conference site was an acknowledgement of the role Africans are playing in the struggle for peace, disarmament, equal economic development, and democracy in international relations. And that is the basis of non-alignment today. This is all the more true when one looks at the problem in its historical perspective. I have already had occasion to point out that African non-alignment has its own characteristic features. They stem, on the one hand, from the special features of our national liberation struggle and, on the other, from the social and political situation on the continent. In Africa the movement has always been linked with the struggle for all-African unity. Moreover, because of the extreme social and economic backwardness of most countries on the continent, it has a clearly defined economic complexion. This is natural. Because of the one-sided monocultural economy African countries inherited from colonial times, they vitally need a restructuring of international economic relations on a just and equal basis.

But what is most important of all is still, of course, the struggle against racism and apartheid in South Africa. Each of the 100 participants in the Harare Conference said "No" to the anti-humane regime.

At the conference itself and throughout the year that followed we sought and have continued to seek to activate the struggle for a settlement of the Namibian problem and the situation around Angola, and the establishment in South Africa of a democratic state free of racial discrimination. We were inspired by the considerable positive changes in the struggle of the indigenous population of South Africa. Pieter Botha widely proclaimed his election victory in May as the consolidation of his power and a sign that the racist regime was unshaken. However, other news is coming out of South Africa. The people's struggle against apartheid and for their rights is becoming tougher and more purposeful. Taking part in it today are mine workers, young people, women, churchmen, and men of literature and the arts. The prestige and influence of the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa and the Namibian South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) are greater than ever.

We are constantly rendering moral, political and practical assistance and support to the ANC, SWAPO and other national liberation movements.

At the same time it would be incorrect to conclude that having headed the non-aligned movement, we are devoting our efforts solely to the struggle against racism and apartheid. We are working on all the problems that beset mankind. Many examples could be cited. Last April the Committee of Nine Non-Aligned Countries on Palestine met in Harare. Taking part were, among others, Algeria, India, Cuba and Zambia.

The main attention was concentrated on how to do away with the differences in the Palestine liberation movement and achieve unity in the ranks of the PLO, the problems of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon, and the convening of an international conference on the Middle East.

Most countries on the committee feel that the meeting in Harare and its recommendations have had a positive effect on the solution of this extremely difficult problem.

Non-aligned circles on the whole take a positive view of the meeting of the Coordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned

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Countries held in Guyana on the situation in Latin America and the Caribbean (March, 1987). A certain amount of progress was made there on implementing the decisions of the VIII Conference of the Non-Aligned Movement on the Latin American region. This found its expression in the Georgetown Peace Appeal - a document which, in effect, translates the Harare decisions on Latin America into practical measures. One of the meeting's indisputable achievements was the setting up of a Standing Committee on Central America made up of Zimbabwe, Guyana, Yugoslavia, India, the Congo, Algeria, Peru and Panama. The committee's job is to mediate in the peaceful settlement of the Central American conflict.

The final document approved by the Coordinating Bureau in Georgetown - and it is important to stress this - is imbued with the spirit of the Harare conference. As in the past it condemns U.S. actions against Nicaragua, those of Britain against the Falkland Islands, and U.S. policy in Latin America, as well as Washington's collaboration with the Pretoria regime. It expresses solidarity with the people of Cuba and the struggle of the peoples of El Salvador, Panama, Haiti and Chile.

All in all, it has been a productive and useful year.

And what about the future? What remains to be done?

This year we are planning a number of meetings in Harare that are of principled significance both for us and the non-aligned movement. Our guests will be British anti-apartheid campaigners led by Bishop Huddlestone. They are planning to come to Harare and invite well-known public figures from many countries, including South Africa, to meet them, in order to discuss what is happening there and do everything possible to achieve the abolition of apartheid as soon as possible.

Our main task remains the consistent and persisitent defence of peace. Mikhail Gorbachev's idea of a direct relationship between disarmament and development is highly valued in Zimbabwe.

Within the framework of the non-aligned movement, my country has called for concrete measures to abolish all types of weapon and use part of the funds thus released to promote the development of Third World countries. We are glad that the International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development has begun work in New York. We believe its aim should be to find possible ways of releasing additional resources for development by limiting the arms race. We support the proposal for a U.N. fund for disarmament and development.

In other words, ahead of us lies a big and demanding job in the interests of peace.

Harare, August

Learning for others

ANATOLY TSIRULNIKOV

Only recently the experiment conducted by Mikhail Shchetinin was dubbed the school of the future. It was no easy experiment, but Shchetinin, like other teacher-innovators, persistently fights stagnation and routine, and breaks through into new, as yet little understood, fields of education and upbringing. Major changes are afoot and it is becoming increasingly clear that the Shchetinin School is just what our country is in need of today. Today there is a great demand for independent people who are active in civic affairs and capable of unconventional decisions - a demand for distinctive personalities.

The Shchetinin School is the science of personality formation. The sum total of Shchetinin's pedagogics is subordinate to this. It includes the intensive development of the sensory organs and of imaginative thinking, and daily lessons in drawing, music, dancing and athletics, "departments" under the auspices of which the children move faster than the curriculum envisages; a serious, wisely organized programme for different age-groups at the school's farming and industrial complex Nadezhda - from raising calves to making Elektronika microcalculators.... The experiment is multiform, and in a state of continuous development. One of the problems Shchetinin and his colleagues are trying to resolve is how to reorganize the teaching process in order to form a personality.

In Moscow, Belgorod, Kirovograd, Krasnodar and Rostov, and at the Young Pioneer camps Artek and Orlyonok, Shchetinin interviewed two thousand children:

"How do you feel when you go to school?"

"Anxious," was the most frequent answer.

"When you enter your classroom," he asked, "does your anxiety increase or decrease?"

"It increases," stressed the children, "you're waiting: will you be called upon to answer or not."

"And when you've answered the teacher's questions - what is your feeling then?"

"Relaxed."

"What is more important for you in a lesson - the explanation of new material or being called upon to answer?"

"Being called upon to answer."

Here was a vicious circle. If the lesson starts with explanations the pupils are excited in anticipation, and do not hear anything; if it starts with questioning then the excitement is followed by inhibition just when the teacher is explaining a new lesson. The pupil systematically switches off when the teacher concentrates on what he is explaining. This is absurd. Could it be because of homework?

"Do you do your homework cheerfully?" Shchetinin asked two thousand schoolchildren.

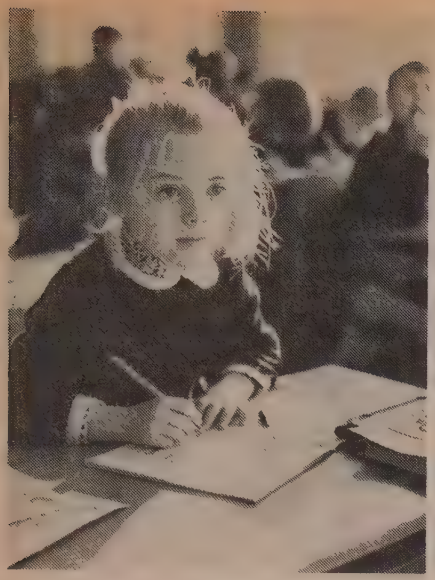
"Yes," was the answer of... a mere 5 per cent.

So he began to reflect on the motivation for doing homework. The answers were: "Because I'll be summoned to the blackboard," "Because I didn't understand during the lesson," "Because you have to get into college...." Hardly any of these pupils answered that he was simply interested in his homework!

After that the teacher weighed up the pros and cons of homework. The pros were well known; however, they did not tip the scales against such factors as ineffective learning, double moral standards (it's not nice to deceive a friend, but to deceive a teacher is quite normal), fear of exposure, the habit of doing careless homework, just to get it over with, the estrangement in relations between teacher and pupils, the tension.... Shchetinin weighed all this up and then all of them together, teachers and pupils, decided to allay this tension.

In this they were successful.

First an ordinary, classic lesson was given, and just before the end - the results were checked. The results were good. After some time another checkup was carried out, and it transpired that everything had been completely forgotten. This led Shchetinin to study the psychology of memory. Theory affirmed that after a certain interval knowledge is retained if the essential elements have been mastered. He began to think of the



Her first year at school.

main thing, the connection between concepts. Why do we introduce them consecutively, not simultaneously? The study of speech, for example, is drawn out over three years: noun, adjective, verb.... You ask sixth-year pupils to formulate what speech is, and they have already forgotten.

But what is speech? Let's put it this way: we draw a circle - the sun; it emits rays in the shape of a hat (or a python that has swallowed a lamb, as in Saint-Exupéry's story) - "who," "what" - the little magic key - "what is it (he) doing?", "what will it (he) do?", a funny face - "what is it (he) like?"... The entire textbook was compressed into one page. Immediately after this - drills: find, delete, insert. And at once - exercises, compositions. Speech, what is it?

"I thought Pushkin was just something from a school reader, like 'a golden chain that oak tree fettered' from 'Ruslan and Lyudmila,' but it turns out to mean courage, heroism - how a person comports himself on the last day of his life!" Books that had until then reposed peacefully on library shelves began to disappear. Shchetinin asked his students what made the Decembrist rebels come out on Senate Square in 1825 - they knew in advance what would happen. And so it became clear that in order to answer the crucial question, the one that worried all of them, no **homework** at all was necessary; what was needed was the **independent spiritual activity** awakened by the question.

The idea of a form of cognition known as immersion seemed clear. If the main thing, the crucial point in a subject has been defined, it may be and should be mastered immediately and not drawn out over a period of years. Shchetinin had read in the work of the eminent Russian physiologist Alexei Ukhtomsky that our behaviour is ruled by the law of the dominant, that what is essential is learned faster and better. How is the importance of a subject to be enhanced? At the beginning of the teaching process there is no problem - everything is new, but later the interest, the "Oh, so that's it" reaction fades. At best, physics is important for one pupil, history for another, while the pattern of lessons is like a patchwork quilt, and each successive dominant devalues the preceding one. The intervals between the effects of the dominants should be lengthened! But how much time is needed, without becoming distracted, without dissolving in the motley kaleidoscope of subjects, to comprehend in its entirety the most important thing in mathematics? Physics? Chemistry?

The first immersion in maths was conducted in the ninth form on September 24-29; each double lesson was immediately followed by relaxation - music, dancing, sport. The year's course was learned in 32 hours! More time was spent on convincing the teachers and explaining to the students the essence of the experiment in which they themselves had become the experimenters. Nobody could believe that they had succeeded. Homework was abolished.

"So there will be no maths tomorrow?"

"Neither tomorrow nor the day after!"

This was incredible.

The second immersion in maths took place a month and a half after the first; the third - three months after the second, at the beginning of March, and the fourth - in the middle of April. The duration of each immersion was four to seven days, but the ocean of knowledge in which the class immersed itself was no longer alien, no longer frightening.

The immersions followed one after another: after maths came physics, after that - chemistry, then they again returned to each subject, abruptly ending the gradual approach. Development is rejection, said Shchetinin, explaining Engels' words to his pupils: in order to develop one must reject one's former self, test oneself in one environment, in another, in a third. Seek until you find yourself. Then the students were attached, according to their interests, to the various teaching departments.

But the main thing was, after all, in the textbooks.

In order, as ninth-former Fedya Korablyov said, for the immersion wheel to rotate at top speed, every pupil in the class had to learn how to join in at a moment's notice, concentrate on what was most important, and be alert every minute of the lesson. The most important thing was that the teaching-production method inevitably raised the question: for whom? Why, for oneself!.. Yes, but this involves danger, falsehood, argued Shchetinin, withdrawal into oneself, into a narrow circle of people - and to put in in Lenin's words, "they were very far removed from the people." But if we pose the question thus: for whom is this

Georgian professor Shalva Amonashvili, corresponding member of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, gives a lesson.

knowledge necessary - for me? Nothing of the kind - for the people. Later on? No, right now. Here are the people, your classmates - share it with them!

They started out with pupil-consultants. Those who were studying in departments according with their interests moved ahead faster, outstripping the others. One in maths, another in chemistry. From time to time they stood in for their teachers, calling on their classmates to answer, explaining new material, helping conduct an experiment, or solve a problem. But having said "a," it was necessary to say "b" - not only a few students, but everyone had to change his dominant - "learning for himself," and turn it into "learning for others." And then....

The customary arrangement of the classroom was changed: the tables and chairs were pushed together, and students were placed in groups of 4 or 5. There is no teacher at the blackboard, instead ninth-former Fedya Korablyov asks a classmate for the definition of a tangent. "Now you, Vitya," Vitya gets up and answers. His group is as nervous as the contestants in the TV "What? Where? When?" quiz. Fedya Korablyov turns to another group: "Valya, where did he go wrong? Yura, please write it out on the blackboard.... Now let's be particularly attentive."

The teacher, Olga Andreyevna Udod, is sitting next to me, nervously chewing a pencil. Actually, she might as well have skipped the lesson altogether: Shchetinin said that if he came in and saw that she was sleeping while they were working, it would be a good thing.

"Attention, group commanders," announces Fedya, "five minutes for independent work." Quickly papers with problems written on them are handed out; on the reverse of one paper is written: "I'm to answer." The people it has fallen to go to the blackboard; the

others solve their problems at their tables, at times discussing something in whispers, moving to sit beside their commanders - each group has its commander, consultant, leader and assistants.

How varied are the results of learning maths! In the ninth form: "Olga Andreyevna, I want to tell you that this place in your explanation wasn't clear. Maybe it would be better this way?"

In the eighth: "Vasya gets a four." Vasya throws down his pen - he doesn't need a sop! He was trying to get ahead, to be the equal of all the "mathematicians" in this group. He was trying, reaching out, and she went and gave him a higher mark than he deserved. But he wanted to be just an ordinary, thinking pupil, if he was capable of no more than "threes," no matter - but he wanted to be himself. So here he sits, tense, ink spots on his face - he could not accept, categorically could not, a higher mark than he deserved. He is very upset: now everyone will say that Dubenko is stupid. But I'll be able to solve maths problems, I will, and I don't need a sop.

This gives rise to thousands of questions: what is a class - is it a collective body or forced proximity? Here is a practical question: is it an acceptable situation when one student fails and the group suffers? An organizational question: what is to be done with Ira? Her work is up to consultant level, but the post is occupied. The production, social, and moral aspects also give rise to questions - collective psychology is the same everywhere.

The most surprising thing happened almost at the finish, when the fourth immersion had ended and its analysis had begun. How did the immersion proceed, what were the results? This is what had to be clarified, and first in the groups. I went from group to group, stopping and sitting down with them: they reminded me of a meeting of work teams holding a businesslike discussion of their plan, resources, efficiency and unrealized reserves. Each member of the group had his say: "In my opinion Oleg and Vanya were active and were together all the time...." "Take Yuli, in the first immersion he was exhausted, but then he showed his worth. Remember when he evolved the formula...."

And after them Olga Andreyevna spoke as an equal member of the collective.

"Comrades, I want to thank you for the immersion" - how strangely and remarkably appropriate this "comrades" sounded in the classroom!

Meantime I was reading what they themselves thought of their work.

Eighth form (first year of immersion): "I like this immersion since in four days we learned what used to take a year." "When the teacher gives the lesson we do what he has thought up. But during our immersion we think for ourselves...."

Ninth form (second year of immersion): "...If there are lessons in four subjects on one day each one of them requires a new mood, a new 'tuning,' and this can get you all muddled up. For example: a maths lesson is on, but you are still thinking about history. But during immersion we get continuously involved in the given subject. This arouses one's interest."

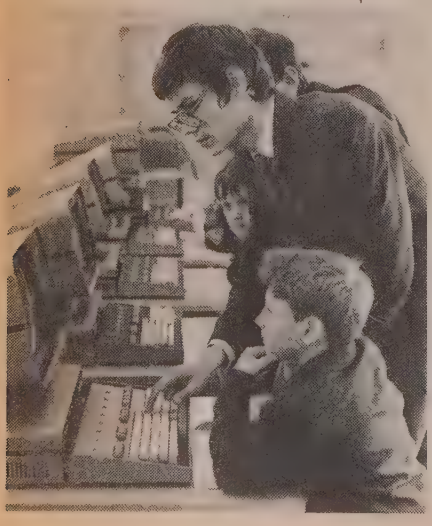
But there were also answers like this: "I don't like to study this way, and it's not simply that I don't like it - I find it too difficult. Throughout the whole school year there were no pluses, only minuses...."

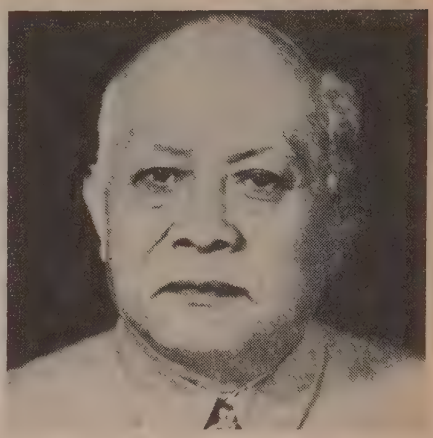
The teachers whom I showed this paper to began to study the writing, to explain the reason for the resentment, but Shchetinin unexpectedly said: "This answer pleases me greatly, the student's attitude pleases me...."

But what I thought of then was this: an age of theoretically new, intensive technologies is approaching, and pedagogics is no exception - it heads the list. What occurs in life today should have occurred at school the day before yesterday - the cost of ignoring this axiom is too high for all of us. Don't upset the school system, some voices say, don't touch what has already been stabilized - achievements tested in practice. As if the achievements of our school were not human beings, but tables and chairs. At times it seems that this is not merely incomprehension, lack of understanding: it is much easier to manage a mediocre school - you don't have to think hard, expose problems, seek painfully for a way out of contradictions.... But the Shchetinin school is fighting for the right to exist - it is a living cell of our society that loudly declares: all pedagogical technologies, be they computer, immersion, Shatalov, Ilyin - are always social technologies. We are for creative, human pedagogical technologies permeated with real social concern. Who is against us?

Senior formers teach younger pupils at School 18 in Siauliai, Lithuania.

TASS photos





The chimes marking the hour reached the shore, drowning the sound of voices. On the outer roads Ton Duc Thang made out the contours of a ship, blurred by the distance. It was from this Vietnamese Navy patrol boat that the sounds came. In his mind's eye he saw the man on watch pulling at the halyard, and the flag - a gold star on a red field - running up the topmast.

From the thick pall of past decades his memory flashed back to events so remote that they seemed part of another life.

Having been delayed at Toulon, the Waldeck-Rousseau fell behind the squadron and did not arrive at Constantinople until late in March 1919. Reports from Moscow received intermittently in the cruiser's radio room said: "The Red Army is advancing confidently in the south of Russia.... The Soviet government is urging the Entente to start peace talks...."

In the morning electrician Simaut brought a fresh issue of the Journal Officiel to the sailors' club and read an excerpt from the minutes of a parliamentary session aloud. "The French government," it said, "has never declared war on revolutionary Russia, nor has it ever consulted parliament or the nation on the subject....Nevertheless, M. Pichon* continues to supply the Russian counterrevolutionaries with weapons and money, and to dispatch troops. This makes us effectively at war with the real government of Russia."

"Let Pichon do the fighting himself," came a voice from a coil of rope. It was

*French Foreign Minister, 1917-20

Red flag over the cruiser

Ton Duc Thang, who had tried not to miss a single word.

On the morning of April 6, 1919, the Waldeck-Rousseau cast anchor in Odessa roadstead. Before long the cruiser's deck looked like a ransacked military camp: crates with cans and wine-bottles, sacks packed with clothes, knapsacks, and bunches of dried fish were scattered everywhere. Distraught-looking Moroccan, Algerian and French infantrymen were making their way through the mess. Soldiers of a Greek battalion held aloof from them. Meanwhile, new troops were beginning to stream in from starboard, all of them covered with dust, excited, their tunics unbuttoned.

"All to the stern," shouted the lieutenant in charge of the embarkation. He pushed forward a soldier of short stature carrying a knapsack and carbine. The man's cap came down to his flat nose and he had to hold his head high to see anything. He was followed by several other brown-eyed men of about the same size.

Thang watched the embarkation more closely than the others. Could this be the Vietnamese contingent, nearly a company-strong, which he had heard the Entente was bringing to Odessa? It was a piece of luck that it was on board the Waldeck-Rousseau. In the evening, when the cruiser had weighed anchor and made for Akkerman, the destination of the land troops, Thang had a chance to talk to one of his countrymen.

"I talked to Bolsheviks several times," the man told Thang. "Near the port there is a small restaurant. A man and a woman once joined us at a table and we got to talking. She was French - Jeanne her name was, - and he lived in Odessa. 'D'you happen to know why you've been brought here?' he asked. 'To help Russia's rich keep their sway over the ordinary people. Don't you have anything more useful to do at home?' "

He was silent for a while and then produced a sheet of paper that had been carefully hidden in his clothes.

"Read it," he said.

Thang unfolded the sheet and saw that it was a hectographed copy of the newspaper Communist in French. "Comrades, French seamen," Thang read avidly, "the Red Army is approaching Odessa. Don't shoot at its soldiers. Return to France and tell the French that the Bolshevik army is fighting to free the peoples of Russia from tsarist bondage...."

Back in Odessa, the Waldeck-Rousseau's guns were again trained on the port installations and the city's residential quarters, theatres and boulevards.

"Looks like they're having a holiday there. There are red flags everywhere," Simaut said looking at the shore through the sights in the turret.

"They'll have nice fireworks, too, when we fire from all our guns," came a morbid comment.

"We won't," Simaut retorted. "We won't allow them to stage another Kherson."*

...There was a honey-like smell of expensive tobacco in the admiral's cabin. The admiral skirted the table and came close to the lined-up seamen.

"So you insist on your demands?" he asked.

"We do," Simaut replied. "Our demands are an early return to France, good food and demobilization."

"Where food is concerned, your demands will be met. Today you'll even get champagne with your supper. As for the rest, I can't do anything. I'm only carrying out ministerial orders."

"We shall communicate your reply to the rest of the sailors," the deputation said, and left the cabin.

The admiral dropped into a chair and started undoing his collar, his fingers suddenly stiff.

There was a knock at the door and the face of an orderly, round, moustachioed and dazed, appeared in the doorway.

"Sir, they demand... request... that you come to the after-deck. Something terrible is happening there...."

The gusts of a violent southeastern carried away most of what the admiral on the bridge was saying. Straining their ears, the sailors made out the words "order...mutiny...duty...."

Thang was standing next to the duty man at the ensign. Although that morning nobody had thought of hoisting it, and it lay folded in the aft house, the duty man was there. He was tall and heavily built with a red moustache and sidewhiskers.

"Let me pass, friend," Thang said.

Completely engrossed in what was going on, the sentry looked in surprise at the tiny man who barely reached his breast, and stepped aside. It took Thang a matter of seconds to attach a piece of red cloth to the halyard. The next moment everyone saw a red flag smoothly running up the lacquered flagpole. The wind filled it and it was vivid against the dull steel-grey of the cruiser.

"Flag dress!" Simaut ordered.

"Vivat!" was the unanimous response from the sailors. They tossed up their berets, tore the red pompons from them and pinned them to their chests. The man on watch shouted something in ecstasy, his head thrown back. He pulled at the clapper of the copper bell, striking the hours at the wrong time. The triumphant tocsin of solidarity sounded over the green waves, reached the embankment and died down in the streets and squares of the beautiful city awakening to a new life.

Early in the morning of April 28, 1919, the Waldeck-Rousseau left the port of Odessa. It was preceded by the torpedo boat Fauconneau. The sirens sounded their farewell to revolutionary Odessa as the ships headed for Constantinople. From the porthole of the bunk room, mechanic Ton Duc Thang looked back at the receding land on which he had never set foot.

...It was only in 1956 that he returned to Odessa - during an official visit to the Soviet Union in his capacity as chairman of the Standing Committee of the National Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

Much water had flown under the bridge since his first visit to Odessa. After he returned home he had joined the Association of Revolutionary Youth and organized the first Vietnamese trade union. In 1929 he had been arrested by the colonial authorities and sentenced to 20 years' hard labour. They had not forgotten the 1919 mutiny, the strike at the Renault plant or his "subversive" activity in Saigon. It was only the revoluition that set him and his comrades free.

In 1969, after the death of Ho Chi Minh, he became President of the D.R.V. and in July 1976, President of the newly proclaimed Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

"I am sure," he wrote reminiscing about the 1919 mutiny, "that any Vietnamese patriot who had happened to be in the Black Sea at that historic moment would have behaved exactly as I did. To love one's country and hate imperialism means above all to love the October Revolution and hate those who opposed it."

GEORGI GRAMMATCHIKOV

*In March, 1919, much destruction was caused in Kherson by shelling from a French squadron ordered by the French command.

Beware of subduing Nature

The relationship between the environment and man may prove unfavourable to the latter

The amazing perfection of a human being, a flower, a bird, or a microorganism fills us with admiration for nature, which has created these innumerable forms of life. They have evolved over billions of years, as has the chemical composition of each human, plant and animal organism, as it is today. It is noteworthy that similar chemical elements are found, in different combinations, in man, sea- and land-dwelling organisms, plants and algae. The number of chemical elements and compounds that are transferred from the environment to the biosphere and to the human organism has been precisely established in the course of long evolution. As for the chemical composition of living matter and the earth's crust, they are largely similar but certainly not identical. The human organism contains relatively little iron, copper, zinc, cobalt, manganese, cadmium, bismuth, stibium, lead, chromium, nickel and other chemical elements which are mined intensively from the earth to meet man's economic needs. The volume of mining continues to grow with the advance of the scientific and technological revolution. Man extracts millions of tons of these elements from the bowels of the earth and, upon being processed, they are released into the biosphere.

The tragedy is that within a period of years (rarely of decades) most of these "progress elements" return to the environment as solid, liquid and gaseous waste and used-up consumer products. They are not merely scattered over the planet's surface but become normal features of our existence. Soviet and American scientists have established that the ever growing absorption of chemical elements from the environment by plants and animals leads to a rapid increase of the concentration of these elements in living organisms and plants, upsetting their functions, which nature has adjusted over millions of years. The operation of metallurgical plants, oil refineries and chemical factories, the burning of coal, oil and gas, and the use of pesticides and herbicides, and mineral fertilizers increase the level of chemical elements and compounds in the atmosphere hundreds and thousands of times over; it is no wonder, therefore, that in the Caucasian mountains, where the air and water are pure, people live much longer and are much less prone to disease than residents of big industrial cities.

Man has created, and is now producing, a multitude of chemical compounds that did not previously exist in nature. Living organisms - men and plants included - have evolved mechanisms for the selective (negligible) assimilation of many chemical elements. The mechanisms of the biological barrier often fail to resist the onslaught of chemical compounds. This results in numerous allergies, chromosomic disorders and chronic illnesses.

The growing concentration of cadmium, lead, fluorine, zinc and arsenic in industrial centres increases the incidence of fluorosis, heart ischemia and lung disease. The use of biologically active compounds and ferments in industry results in a comparatively high percentage of babies being born with congenital defects.

We are breaking down with our own hands, so to speak, the biological barriers that protect us from health hazards. We enthuse over various technologies and the fulfilment of plans whose ecological effects have been given inadequate consideration, if any, without mentioning the fact that they are never submitted for public discussion.

The changes now under way in the atmosphere, soil and water have all but got beyond our control.

In the U.S.S.R., the discharge of industrial and stock-raising farm sewage does serious damage to the ecological systems of rivers such as the Volga, the Dnieper, the Ob and the Irtysh and of lakes Sevan, Ladoga and Valdai. The tragic fate of Lake Baikal is common knowledge.

In the atmosphere of more than 50 Soviet cities, concentrations of many organic and inorganic substances exceed the maximum permissible levels, with a resultant rise in the incidence of various diseases, the decline of the population's work potential and, consequently, economic losses.

These losses have not yet been estimated; they are presumed to be rather high. At any rate they are much in excess of the expenditures necessary to protect the environment from pollution. Over the past 30-40 years many animal and plant species have disappeared, soils have become oxidized, enormous

A poisonous tide laps a North Sea coast after thousands of tons of nitrates and phosphates spilled into the sea as a result of a cargo ship wreck.

forest massifs have perished in Europe and North America, valuable fish species have died out, and the flora and fauna of many rivers and lakes in the Northern Hemisphere have changed. New diseases have appeared in the industrialized countries.

I'd call what is now happening a chemical attack by uncontrollable technological progress on man. At Academician Nikolai Dubinin's estimate, millions of people in industrialized countries have been affected over the past 30 years: their children suffer from congenital abnormalities. In the U.S.S.R., most such abnormalities have been registered in big industrial centres and agricultural regions with intensive production where the chemical composition of the air, water and soil has undergone considerable changes.

Tremendous amounts of waste matter are discharged into the environment from year to year. Tens of billions of tons of waste are dumped in the U.S.S.R. over hundreds of thousands of hectares of land which could have fed about half a million people had efficient use of them been made in grain farming or livestock breeding. Are these losses justified? Can we accept the fact that in Volgograd, a city with highly developed chemical, metallurgical and tractor-building industries, many children (according to the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences) are mentally retarded or physically handicapped and go to special schools? Or that around the cities of Dzhambul, Chimkent and Aktyubinsk there have formed zones with a radius of tens of kilometres where the incidence of various diseases among the human population has drastically increased over the past few years?

It must be said, for fairness' sake, that since 1972 important decisions have been adopted on measures to reduce the discharge of pollutants into the atmosphere, rivers and lakes. However, the implementation of these decisions - specifically those on the introduction of closed water recycling systems, and building gas purification plants, and municipal and industrial drains - has been delayed in many cases. In this connection on July 3, 1985 the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet adopted the decision, On Observing Legislation on Nature Conservation and the Rational Utilization of Natural Resources. This is all to the good, but many scientists believe that the growth of industrial and agroindustrial production also calls for the adoption of a law on the protection of the biosphere and the environment.

The biological and medical consequences of the invasion of the biosphere by chemical elements and the changes in the environment can be remedied - scientific progress gives us grounds for optimism. But this will require immediate and costly measures on the part of research and government institutions. Allocations for the protection of the biosphere have been increased considerably in North America and Europe over the past 20 years; more than a hundred countries have set up environment conservation ministries and agencies which not only monitor the state of the environment but curtail any violations of the appropriate laws by industrial plants. Regrettably, no such organizations exist in our country so far.

Birds killed by polluted waters. The effect of pollutants on human beings might not be quite so deadly, yet...

Photos from Der Spiegel and Stern (F.R.G.)

And one further important point: the term "biosphere" is commonly understood as the life zone of the earth. Vladimir Vernadsky, however, has identified the biosphere as a special geosphere. The biosphere, which we perceive today as a living medium covering the earth's surface, is surrounded by the atmosphere, the hydrosphere and the lithosphere and inseparably connected with them. That is why the biosphere and the geospheres surrounding it should be regarded as a single system.

Having built high-capacity plants, atomic reactors, electronic computers and much else, and obtained numerous consumer goods as a result, man has come to believe that he is the master of nature. But no one can subdue nature.

The biomass of the whole of mankind constitutes only about a millionth that of all the earth's organisms and plants, while the energy man generates is nothing as compared with the amount of the solar energy that reaches the earth. Hence the important conclusion: man should live in peace with nature. He must realize that he is merely part of the biosphere, that he is a part of the eternal bio-geochemical rotation of substances and that he can live only as long as the biosphere does. Damaging the environment is suicidal.

Our top priorities are to study the state of the biosphere and the environment, and the natural processes in their interaction, and work out scientific concepts for reducing chemical and physical effects on the biosphere, assess the economic losses resulting from the destruction of the biosphere, and find economic stimuli to improve the state of the biosphere and the environment. We must do all this in close cooperation with other states. The biosphere is not a pie: you cannot cut it into pieces or divide it along state borders. Protection of the environment calls for comprehensive international cooperation.

Moreover, we need an environmental ethic and the realization by each one of us of his dependence on the fate of the earth. Otherwise the interrelationships between nature and society will prove not to be to society's advantage.

LI SOLOVYOV,
Executive Secretary,
Biosphere and Ecology Research Commission, U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences

The Soviet-Canadian team for the transarctic ski trek has started training.

Prepare your skis in summer

In issue No. 15, 1987, New Times told you of plans to organize a Soviet-Canadian transarctic skiing expedition from Cape Arctic in the Severnaya Zemlya archipelago to Cape Columbia on Ellesmere Island by way of the North Pole.

The Soviet members of the expedition visited Canada and met with the broad sections of the public there. "A team of intrepid Soviet ski marathoners seeks at least two Canadians fit enough to carry a 45-kilogramme pack at a gruelling pace for 90 days on skis over the polar ice cap from the Soviet Union to Canada."

This call issued at the Soviet arctic travellers' press conference in Ottawa was broadcast nationwide by the Canadian Press agency and carried in numerous newspapers.... It elicited a spate of letters from those who wished to join the expedition.

In the town of Lethbridge, not far from Calgary, lives Austin Mardon, 25. This spring he returned from the Antarctic, where he had taken part in the American meteorite expedition. As a member of the field group, he covered 2,000 kilometres of the Antarctic plateau on a tractor and came near the South Pole. Inspired by that success, Austin was hoping to make a ski trip across the North Pole. He started extensive preparatory work. Letters of recommendation came in his support from the parliamentary deputy speaker, Alberta Province, the Minister of Transport, the Minister of Tourism, scientists and teachers....

"We the undersigned students of the Catholic Central High School wish to support Mr Austin Mardon in his application for membership on your upcoming Arctic expedition team. This is an opportunity for our great countries to cooperate in an educational endeavour which, we hope, will further our mutual quest for international peace and understanding."

It carried 212 signatures.

"As President of the Student Body of St. Francis Junior High School in Lethbridge, Alberta, Canada, I wish to extend my opinion regarding the Soviet/Canada joint expedition over the North Pole.... I am presently studying the Soviet Union in my Social Studies class and find it to be a fascinating nation.... Someday I wish to visit it and think that this expedition may increase my chances by increasing Soviet/Canada relations." Then the writer, Jason Bishop, gave Mardon a character reference, followed by 300 signatures! One could not but feel moved looking at these sheets of paper with the carefully written names and telephone numbers of each signatory. Hundreds of Canadians gave their blessing to their senior fellow student for a good deed in which they all felt involved. Among the letters with the standard form of address, "Dear Mr Shparo," came one that began unexpectedly with "Dear Comrade Shparo." "My vocation as a labour leader in Canada has given me experience in two other areas that the expedition may find useful," wrote Mark Whaley. "I have had exposure to all types of media coverage as well as to fund-raising techniques, two areas in which no successful expedition can afford to be without."

Canadian businessmen Polina Zelitskaya and Paul Weinzweig will take care of the members of the expedition.

But from among all the multitude of letters, the ones I liked best were, perhaps, the two messages from Ray Wiss, who rounded them off with "Peace and health" in Russian. "First, I am happiest when I am outdoors, and winter is my favourite season. I love the Arctic. For me, the hardship would be enjoyable," he wrote. "Secondly, I have always wanted to make Soviet friends. I believe that the friendship between our two nations improves more when ordinary people become friends than when leaders meet. My mother and brother have been to the U.S.S.R. twice, and I have met several Soviet athletes at competitions. We all agree that your people are very like Canadians and that there is much in common between our two countries."

Such good letters. But their writers were waiting for answers, and we had to choose only four people from among all the candidates. We agreed between us that we would name six persons and invite them to the Soviet Union for a preparatory expedition, and then make our choice.

And so we returned to Canada. There were four of us: Yuri Khmelevsky, mathematician and scientific supervisor of the expedition; Leonid Labutin, radio engineer, designer of radio equipment, the expedition's chief radio operator; and again as in March, Arkady Cherkasov from the Institute of U.S.A. and Canada Studies at the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, expert, interpreter; and myself, Dmitry Shparo, chief of the expedition and the head of the delegation.

Describing the preparatory part of the expedition in the previous article, we introduced the four prospective members of the trek: Laurie Dexter of Fort Smith (Northwest Territories), Richard Weber (Ottawa) and two guys from Matane, Quebec Province - Jacques Bouffard and Gilbert Rioux. This time they met Khmelevsky and Labutin.

...Dexter flew to Edmonton from the north. We talked all through the night. I am happy that Khmelevsky and Labutin liked Laurie, that we and he understood each other.

Austin Mardon, whom so many people had supported, came to Edmonton from Lethbridge. A nice guy, long-limbed, a bit awkward, bespectacled. He had written a thesis "The Contribution of Herodotus to the Development of Geographical Thought." He looked intellectual. But the problem with him was that

It's hard work to cross the ice. Photos by author

he did not go in for sport. And wouldn't accept that travelling on skis with a pack on one's back was different from riding on tractors.

In Toronto we met Mark Whaley, who drove from the town of Waterloo, and brought along his beautiful wife. Mark is a typical successful athlete. Tall, well-built, with developed muscles. Entering the room, he handed us a local newspaper that was featuring his preparation for the expedition. The front page carried a large colour picture of Mark doing physical exercises. The newspaper wrote that doing 20 kilometres every morning and keeping fit, Mark Whaley was sure that he was going to take part in the expedition. We had a very nice, friendly talk with Mark and his wife. But nothing could be done since Mark, like Austin, had never been on a winter journey with the pack and a tent. "I will write about you and tell the Canadian TV viewers about the expedition," said Mark in farewell.

And now Ray Wiss. "He is a very fit, capable individual, who works extremely well with his peers. He possesses the skills and the inner fortitude to help you achieve your objective," Major Bill Mckim, who had been Ray's chief in the army, wrote of him. All this was true. Moreover, he had an air of distinct and attractive self-confidence and humanity. We took to him unanimously. He visited us several times at our Toronto hotel and told much about himself. Ray's grandfather married a black girl and for that he was banished to Tahiti, whence Ray's parents returned to Canada. He had had a medical education but had given it up to join a group of Canadian volunteers going to Nicaragua to teach in schools. His going to Nicaragua would rule out the training for the expedition. Wiss was in two minds, and kept asking if there was any possibility of making the team without preparatory sessions. This was out of the question. "It's up to you, Ray," we said. He phoned us on the eve of our flight to Moscow and said that he had opted for Nicaragua. We wish him every success.

Neither could we invite Robert Eno, who lives in the north of Canada, in far-off Inuvik. Robert is an arctic hunter and traveller with 7 years' Arctic experience. We had two telephone conversations with him but, unfortunately, he was out of work and couldn't afford the trip to Ottawa to meet us.

Nor will we be joined by Edward Struzik, who organized and headed the first Canadian ski expedition to the North magnetic pole in 1985. At the time of our visit he was out of town and we couldn't arrange to meet. We extend our warmest thanks to these and all the other boys who sent us letters and supported the idea of a joint ski expedition.

Matane is a small town on the shore of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, whose water is icy cold. I think we were the first Soviet people to go there and we found the locals kind and hospitable, which we appreciate. There is a picture in the mayor's office of two local guys, Jacques Bouffard and Gilbert Rioux, on a mountain top, the Communism Peak in the Pamirs which they climbed in 1986 as members of a Canadian mountaineering team. In fact, we had gone there to meet them. Khmelevsky and Labutin enthusiastically supported Bouffard's and Rioux's candidatures. As earlier with Dexter, we had a long conversation with Jacques and Gilbert discussing the details for the forthcoming preparatory trip and the polar expedition. "If our boys go with you they will make Matane known throughout the world," Mayor Maurice Gauthier said to us.

Richard Weber, conqueror of the North Pole as a member of the 1986 American-Canadian expedition that used dogs in harness, stayed on the list. And two new people appeared. Jerry Kobalenko, 32, of Toronto, editor of Canada's biggest travel magazine, photographer. And Grame Magor, 30, of Hamilton, a doctor.

I'd like to say something about other results of our visit. We have found a firm to assume all the work concerning the organization of the expedition on the Canadian side, i.e., funding, radio communication, food supplies (provisions will be dropped from planes along the route), and the evacuation of all members of the team from Cape Columbia to Montreal. The firm is Social Engineering Associates, a cooperative integrating 132 companies, headed by Paul Weinzweig and his wife Polina Zelitskaya. Paul is the president, and Polina, the chairman. The company is pinning its hopes in a large degree on the development of trade relations with the U.S.S.R.

The company has calculated costs and profits in connection with the transarctic expedition and considers the venture profitable. At any rate, Paul is optimistic about it. At the same time, one can see that both are enthusiastic about the very idea of the trip and wish it every success.

We have brought a letter to Komsomolskaya Pravda from the Toronto Star, proposing cooperation in covering the expedition. We also have a letter to Sovinfilm from the Canadian Crawley's International Studios with the suggestion of making a joint documentary about the trek. Labutin has had successful talks with Thomas Atkins, President of the Canadian Radio Relay League, on arranging radio communication for the expedition. Labutin and Atkins have drawn up a joint document to the U.S.S.R. and Canadian Ministries of Communications proposing a preference regime for Soviet and Canadian radio hams for the duration of the expedition.

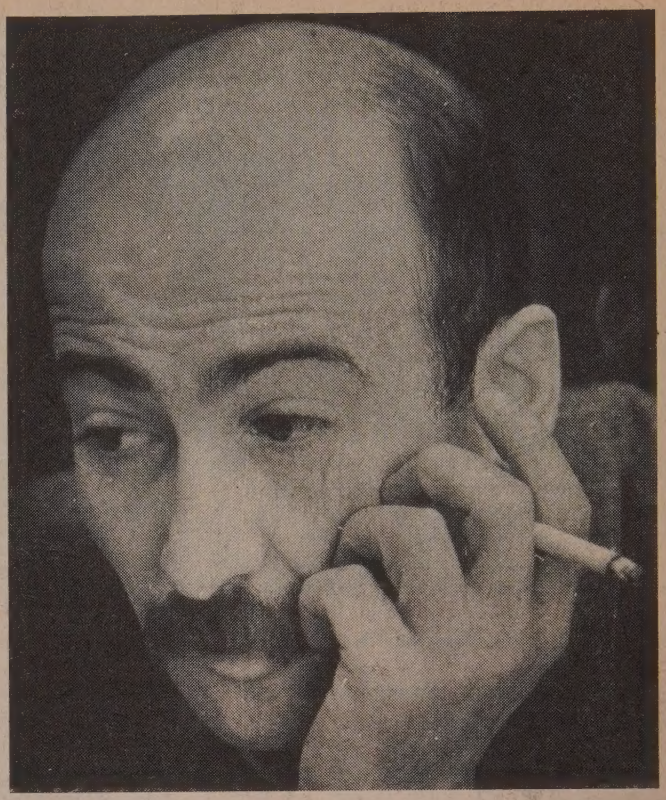
On August 8, the 6 Canadians arrived in the Soviet Union to train with us in the Tien Shan mountains. The preparation for the transpolar ski expedition has entered a decisive phase. As the saying goes, prepare your skis in summer....

DMITRY SHPARO

Ottawa - Moscow

The maximum in everything

Alexander Rosenbaum is a popular lyric poet, composer and singer. His path to the variety stage was indirect. In 1974 he graduated from the Leningrad Medical Institute and began to work as an ambulance intensive-care specialist. But his second love was music. Not only had he attended a music school, but he also wrote and sang his own songs and participated in student performances.



Gradually his hobby became his chief interest. His ballads about Leningrad, and his songs about the Great Patriotic War are widely known. Recently Melodia released an album of his songs - "Epitaph."

The growth of Alexander Rosenbaum's popularity is not simple. Rumours dogged his path. His performances were compared to those of Tokarev and Novikov, the first of whom is an emigrant now living in the U.S., while the second is in prison for a criminal offence.

For all that, Alexander Rosenbaum is now a professional artist. It often happened, he told me, that he'd arrive as a guest performer in some regional centre, and the director of the local philharmonic society would ask: "What Rosenbaum is this? Is he back already?"

After Rosenbaum appeared on the national TV programme The Musical Ring, everything seemed to fall into place. Still, for some listeners his name is associated with the rollicking "Odessa" songs. What does he himself think of his "blatniye" lyrics (songs in thieves' argot)?

"It's just a style," says Alexander Rosenbaum. "The songs were inspired by Isaac Babel's stories. I was asked to compose the music for amateur student performances. Of the five hundred songs I have written, only a little more than twenty are 'Odessa' songs. They were a phase in my career, that's all. I don't reject them, but I really can't understand why such a fuss is made about genre songs. In a way I'm a patron of juvenile delinquents reformatory; I sing for them songs about the Great Patriotic War and they understand me perfectly. When I go out there now I am asked to sing 'The Road to Life' - a song about Leningrad during the blockade, and not 'Hopstop,' once an 'Odessa' hit."

Incidentally, what is your opinion of Vladimir Vysotsky's "blatniye" and fairy-tale songs?

Extremely high. One has to appreciate that it is not the thieves' world that is romanticized. Take the song "Manya." This song eulogizes a Deed, the great power of the human spirit. The heroine did not betray her beloved.... This is the focal point, and listeners understand that perfectly. Of course, in order to demonstrate this you don't need the background of a thieves' environment. But, as they say, once written, you can't take the words out of a song.

How are your songs born?

In different ways. For instance, I was shaken by Evgeny Yevtushenko's "Babi Yar," but the music didn't come to me for five long years. Then I visited Babi Yar, saw it all in my mind's eye, felt that it was not they, but I myself who was being gunned down, and then the only true tone for it came to me.

Now, the Cossack song took me only fifteen minutes to compose - that means I was already inwardly prepared for it. What's more, I wrote it in Leningrad. Later, when I went to visit the Don area, I got a wonderful welcome. The real Don Cossacks accepted my song as their own.

What is more important for you - the lyrics or the music?

One of my verses has the following lines:

Musicians must
Respond to words
And poets must
Have music in their hearts.

You once said that a song must hit the bull's eye. What did you have in mind?

A song should have an extreme emotional message. An amusing song should really amuse, a problem song should touch the most delicate strings of the heart, and compel the listener to think.

Could you give an example?

Well, there are many. Let's take the song "A Flame Gutters in a Small Stove...." The song is timeless!

What is your attitude to rock music?

I am fond of both rock and "metal," and of ballet - but only when it is done professionally. However, what I really don't like is the hullabaloo that surrounds "metal," and hooliganism.

In one of your songs you sing: "I'm flying to sing my songs to miners in Vorkuta." Have you been there often?

I've been to Vorkuta three times, and always with great pleasure. I like people who can work well under extreme conditions. They are kinder and purer, less spoilt. I have many friends in Vorkuta. We easily find a common language. Perhaps that is because in my undergraduate years I went out to Ukhta for six years in succession to fell timber. Incidentally, I was a fourth-category sawyer and timber feller. I'm planning to go to Vorkuta again this coming winter. I love Vorkuta in winter.

Why?

I like winter to be winter, a real Northern winter! I like the maximum in everything!

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A KREMLIN MUSEUM

The Kremlin walls slumber serenely in the heart of the ancient city like they did centuries ago. Enumerating the sights of Moscow's historic centre is not an easy task: every stone of its walls has come down to us through the centuries, every building is of enormous historical value.

Moscow was the rallying point of independent principalities. Seeing ahead to the emergence of an integrated state, the all-powerful Church turned its gaze to the would-be capital. Metropolitan Pyotr left Vladimir and sought shelter in Moscow. It was then, in the 14th century, that the history of the Patriarch's Chambers in the Kremlin had its start.

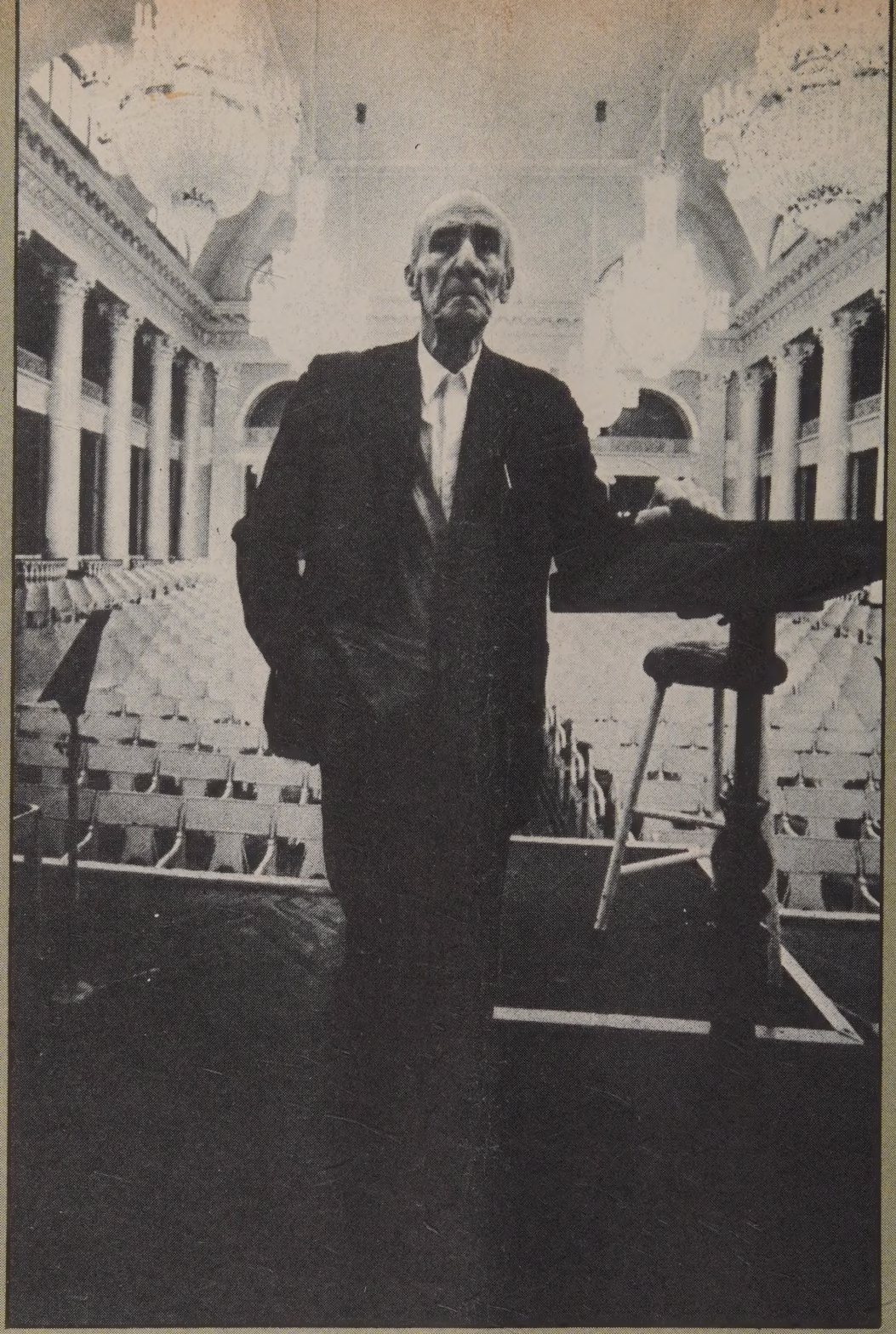
The Museum of 17th-Century Applied Art and Household Articles, opened 25 years ago, is found in the former Patriarch's Palace built by Davyd Okhlebinin and Antip Konstantinov in 1656 on the Sobornaya (Cathedral) Square, Moscow's oldest. As it crushed human lives, the ruthless wheel of history did not spare stones, either. The palace of impressive proportions, original architecture and gorgeous interior decor has undergone several reconstructions. It has been restored recently. On display in the Patriarch's Chambers are personal belongings of Russian patriarchs, ritual garbs and casual clothes, gold- and silverware, gifts from foreign ambassadors.

A silver hand-wash jug on display at the museum.

An iconostasis, a fine specimen of Russian baroque wood carving.

The Museum of 17th-Century Applied Art and Household Articles.

A view of the Stone Bridge from Zamoskvorechye region (from an old engraving).



INTERNATIONAL CONTEST

Yuri Rost (U.S.S.R.)

People's Artist of the U.S.S.R. conductor Evgeny Mravinsky.

MAN AND MANKIND

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